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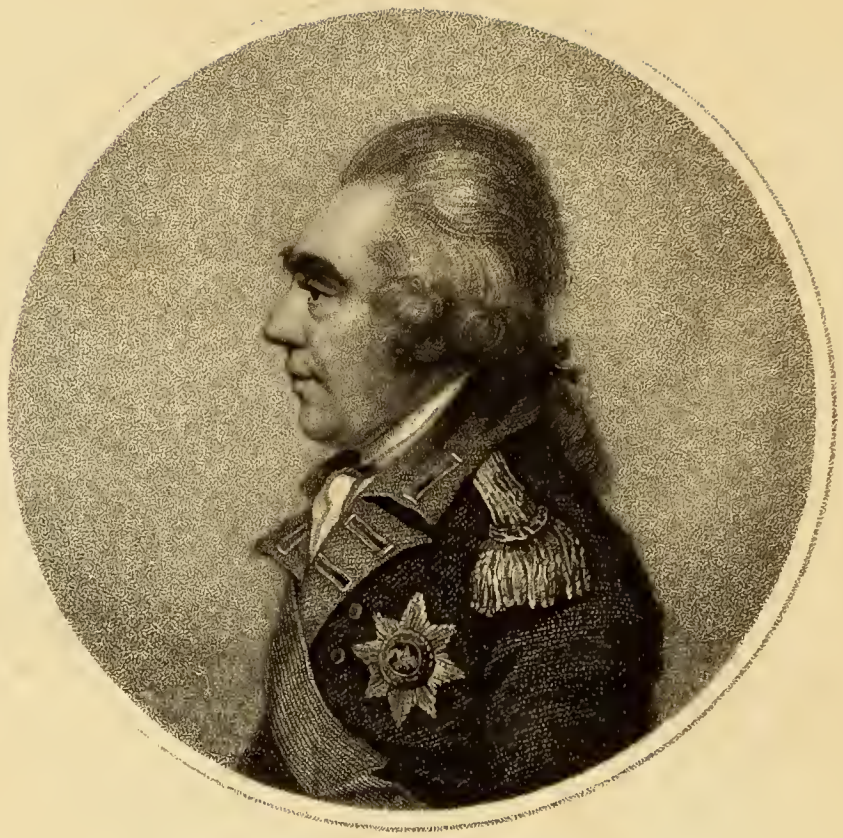
# MEMOIRS

OF THE POLITICAL AND PRIVATE LIFE OF

# JAMES CAULFIELD,

# EARL OF CHARLEMONT,

KNIGHT OF ST. PATRICK, &c. &c. &c.



JAMES EARL OF CHARLEMONT, K.P.

*Engraved by L. Schiavonetti, from an original*
*Picture by H. Hone.*

*Published June 4 1810, by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand London.*

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## OF THE POLITICAL AND PRIVATE LIFE OF

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By FRANCIS HARDY, Esq.

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, IN THE THREE LAST PARLIAMENTS OF IRELAND.

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——Quem tu non tam citò rhetorem dixisses, (etsi non deerat oratio) quàm, ut Græci dicunt, Πολίτικον. Erant in eo plurimæ literæ, nec eæ vulgares, sed interiores quædam, et reconditæ; divina memoria, summa verborum et gravitas, et elegantia: atque hæc omnia vitæ decorabat dignitas et integritas. CICERO, de Lucio Torquato.—BRUTUS.

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London:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND;

By George Sidney, Northumberland Street.

1810.

# DEDICATION.

TO

FRANCIS-WILLIAM,

**EARL OF CHARLEMONT,** &c. &c.

THESE MEMOIRS

OF

HIS MOST EXCELLENT

AND

ILLUSTRIOUS FATHER,

ARE,

WITH THE MOST ENTIRE GRATITUDE,

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S TRULY OBLIGED,

AND

FAITHFULLY ATTACHED,

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

# PREFACE.

I NOW venture, and with much diffidence, to give to the public some account of one of the most accomplished persons of his time, and certainly, as amiable, as patriotic, and truly honest man, as ever yet existed in any age, or in any country.

Whether these Memoirs have any chance of being in the least approved of, time alone can declare; but I beg leave to state, that the merit of paying some tribute to the memory of the Earl of Charlemont, is originally to be ascribed to Mr. Lovel Edgworth.* It was during one of the many tempestuous nights, whilst the question of Union was debated, that he expressed his wishes to me, in the House of Commons, that I should undertake to write the life of Lord Charlemont, more especially as I had almost constantly acted with him in public, and had the honour of being known to him in private life.

Flattered, as unquestionably I was, by this suggestion, I felt my own deficiency too much not to hesitate at the undertaking;—I

* Of Edgworth's town, in Ireland; so well known (as well as Miss Edgworth) by many most agreeable, and most useful publications.

therefore begged leave to consider the proposition for a day or too. On my next meeting Mr. Edgworth, I ventured to acquaint him, that, after due consideration, I should not decline the task, to me a most grateful one in some respects, of giving the Memoirs of our noble friend to the world, provided that it was with the entire approbation of Lady Dowager Charlemont, and the present Earl ; otherwise, I should totally relinquish it.

Matters rested in this manner for some short time, and I have reason to know, that more than one gentleman of talents, far superior to mine, expressed an anxiety to celebrate the worth, and the genius, of the excellent Lord Charlemont, and do themselves honour by uniting their name to his. It is with pleasure I record this anxiety. Most creditable is it to this country, that no cold inertness, or indisposition, should be found, to give to posterity the most pleasing and instructive of all history, that of departed merit. However, it pleased Lord Charlemont to write to me on the subject, and in very polite, engaging terms, to declare his wishes, that the life of his illustrious father should be written by me. I consider it as a species of duty to state these particulars to the public. When a person, if not totally, at least but little known to the world, presumes to appear as an author, it has ever been my opinion, that some reason should be given by him, for appearing in such a character at all.—When I received this letter, and for a long time after, I was much indisposed. I wrote, however, or rather sketched, much of Lord Charlemont's political history ; and, whilst engaged in it, I was, by the favour of my learned, and ever

dear friend, the Reverend Edward Berwick,* indulged with the perusal of the entire correspondence between Lord Charlemont and the late Doctor Haliday,† of Belfast, which he received from that ingenious and worthy man's nephew, accompanied with his permission to me, to make what use of it I thought proper. That correspondence commenced in 1780, and only closed some few months, or perhaps a shorter period, before Lord Charlemont's death. I have selected some parts of it, merely as I thought necessary to give to the public; and, towards the conclusion of the Memoirs, the extracts are very ample. However, I trust that they will not be considered as too much so. To William Haliday, Esq. (the doctor's nephew,) I now beg leave to offer my best thanks.

To the more early part of Lord Charlemont's life, I was as yet, however, except from some casual conversations with him, an entire stranger; and the part which I had sketched was as yet unfurnished with aught to which the name of biography could be at all applied. I therefore almost despaired of being able to give his Memoirs to the world: when, after an absence of several years from Dublin, I went there, in the Summer of 1807, and was then, by the particular desire

* Rector of Leixlip, in Ireland. He has since given to the public a translation of Apollonius Tyaneus. A work which, independent of its merit, was at least necessary to dispel a heavy mist of stupid prejudice, and incurious, contented error. But, whatever justice he has done himself as a scholar, neither that, nor any work of such a nature, can in any way present an adequate resemblance of the author's mind; of that innocent gaiety, those social talents, and excellent heart, which have always enlivened the circle around him, and endeared him to his various friends.

† See an account of him in the Memoirs.

of Lord Charlemont, who had just gone to England, and the most obliging attention of his brother, Mr. Caulfield, favoured with all such papers, letters, and manuscripts of the late Lord, as I desired to take. For this generous, and ample communication, retarded only by my involuntary absence from town, I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to Lord Charlemont. Mr. Caulfield will also be pleased to accept my very sincere and grateful acknowledgments. The late most amiable, and intelligent Countess Dowager of Charlemont was pleased also, sometime before this, to give me, in her own hand writing, several particulars of her excellent Lord's more youthful days, and many of those whilst he was abroad.

The papers, thus liberally consigned to my care by Lord Charlemont, consisted of some folios written by the late Earl, and numberless letters, most of them, however, on private business, with which the public has, of course, nothing to do. There were, however, papers, and letters enough, if I consulted merely what is termed book-making, to furnish another volume of Memoirs. But, Μέγα βιβλιον μέγα Κάκον. I always regarded a great book as a great evil; and I hope the public will not think, that I have lost sight of my predilection for this ancient maxim, in the present voluminous publication.

The late Earl of Charlemont may be regarded, in his public capacity, as an author, a senator, and the chief, for several years, of a voluntary, and justly-celebrated, national military association. Had he exerted the same firmness of perseverance which, in every other instance of his life where intellectual fame was the object, he certainly displayed, I make no doubt that his success as an orator

would have overpaid his efforts; I mean in the House of Lords; for in the Lower House he never sat; and, had his lot placed him there, so distinct are the formation and complexion of the two legislative bodies, that if his nerves could not sustain him in addressing his noble brethren, they would, I am afraid, have totally failed in presenting himself before the less tranquil, and less polished House of Commons. But, notwithstanding his extreme delicacy, and sensibility, he would, as an upright senator, have been equally the object of their respect, esteem, and admiration. He was a man of uncommon industry. Though I believe that no slight portion of what he wrote has been lost, enough remains to establish his character in that respect. His account of his residence in Italy cannot at present be found; that of his tour to the Greek islands, or a considerable portion of it, remains. He also wrote observations on the manners of the Turks, a nation to which he does not seem so adverse as other authors, and obtained much information on the subject. It forms a considerable part of a large folio. An essay, also, on the character of Sir Philip Sidney, is among his papers. Sonnets also, songs, and various epigrams, from Greek, Latin, or French Authors. His account of Italian poetry, though, I believe, his original plan was never completed, would alone make, perhaps, two quarto volumes, or rather more.*

Erudite, ingenious, and accomplished, however, as undoubtedly he was, his predominant excellence appears to me to have been the unbending integrity of his political character. For his native country

* His selections from the different poets, his criticisms, and translations of various sonnets, especially those of Petrarch, are, in my opinion, entitled to great praise.

he had ever the warmest affection; his love of England was also very great; and to preserve the connexion between both countries, was the point to which all his political labours uniformly tended. I have endeavoured to illustrate his Parliamentary conduct by every document in my power, and various are the memorandums, historical records, and papers, which he has left behind him. In this part of my work, exclusive of his papers, my chief, I think I may say, only assistance, was that of Mr. Grattan,* who, from his consummate knowledge of the Parliamentary History of Ireland, was best enabled to give additional light to the subject, and furnish me with a variety of particulars, concerning several eminent men, whose characters I have interwoven with the History of Lord Charlemont. Fortunate indeed had it been for the reader, if my talents could have kept pace with his zealous respect for the memory of our venerable Earl, or his eloquence in illuminating whatever he touched on in private conversation. But I have lived too long in the world, and kept company with those who are far my superiors in talents and acquirements, not to be perfectly sensible of the mediocrity of my pretensions. I have often thought of the just taste, and feeling, which made Cicero exclaim: *Demosthenem igitur imitemur. O Dii boni! Quid, quæso, nos aliud agimus, aut quid aliud optamus? At non assequimur.* The superiority of a great author I can also feel, and wish, however vainly, to attain the simplicity of those whom the world has long cherished, as models of artless diction. If, however, for the author of this work, some indulgence may be reasonably looked for, the subject of it stands

* Right Honourable Henry Grattan.

in need of no apology. It would have been a reproach to Ireland, had merit like his remained unrecorded. This country will ever have reason to claim him, and the Earl of Ossory,* as the most illustrious of its nobility. But how has Ireland advanced since Lord Ossory lived, and how different from the days of the profligate Buckingham, who wished to wound Ireland through his Noble Father? There is no necessity, however, for going so far back, or sailing up the stream of time, to exhibit multiplied instances of personal, or national prejudice and illiberality. A great change has happened, even since my boyish days. When, as I well recollect, an Irishman was the standing jest of the Theatre, when England ever appeared the imperious, and not always enlightened mistress; whilst Ireland remained her humble, untaught domestic, to be dragged after her in war, or in peace, just as she thought proper. They were at some moments of harsh, indeed almost insane domination, on the part of England, if the similitude may be allowed me, exactly like the lady and her attendant in the Critic. Enter Tilburina, mad in white satin, and her maid, mad in white linen. England, clad in the commerce of the world, Ireland restricted to one solitary manufacture, and called on by her superior to weep when she wept, to smile when she smiled, or go mad when she did. But more equitable counsels have since taken place. They have forced illiberality to "limp, though most tediously away," and awakened the energies of the country. I write for no sect, for no faction; political principles are ever the same, and mine were taught me in my academical hours, by John Locke. *Nil*

* Son to the Duke of Ormonde.

*me pœniteat sanum patris hujus.* To conclude without touching on the Legislative Union, I shall say, and were I of importance enough to bequeath a political legacy to my countrymen, it should be this: Indulge in no political retrospect, for the purposes of political ill humour ; for ever assert your own honourable character, and for ever preserve your connexion with England.

☞ I think it most proper to state, that the anecdote relative to Primate Stone* is by no means exact, nor, as it relates to Lord Drogheda, at all founded. But I am not to blame. I found it among Lord Charlemont's papers, not in the same words precisely, as represented here, but nothing whatever is added to the original ground work, but rather the contrary. However, as in the course of my reading I had reason to know, that many things were related of Primate Stone which could only be imputed to the acerbity of party, of which indeed Lord Charlemont was ever guiltless, I considered it as a duty I owed to the Noble Marquis, to the memory of that eminent Prelate, and, more than all, the respect which is ever to be paid to truth, to make some enquiry concerning it, though, from consulting those who were well acquainted with the times, it is certain that it was credited by many. As I had not the honour of being known to Lord Drogheda, I wrote to a gentleman who was closely allied to his lordship on the subject. That gentleman was not in Dublin. The letter followed him to a remote part of Ireland, but he had gone from thence to London, where my letter at last reached him. After some time I heard from him, but, till he returned to Ireland, the fact could not be exactly ascertained. This part of the work was then in the hands of the printer. At last I was, by that gentleman's kindness, favoured with a statement of the fact, from the Noble Marquis, that Lord Northumberland, with whom he lived in great intimacy, had promised to appoint him his secretary if ever he came to Ireland; that, at the time of his nomination, he was at Moore Abbey, and Primate Stone, he believed, in London. The instant I received this communication, I wrote to London, requesting that the anecdote alluded to should be suppressed. But it was too late. The sheets were printed of. Thus situated, I could only give these particulars to the public, and should these Memoirs ever reach another edition, the anecdote shall appear no more. But as a bon-mot, or lively narrative, are often successively ascribed to the most celebrated wit of the day, party will likewise merely change the names of some of the dramatis personæ, and assign to those, whom it wishes to humiliate, the political intrigues of other personages, and other seasons. Many an *historiette de jour*, though given as a recent anecdote, has proved to be an aged story.

* See page 103.

# MEMOIRS

OF

# JAMES, EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

## PART THE FIRST.

*From his Birth, to his return to Ireland from the Continent.*

### 1728 TO MAY 1755.

THE family of Caulfield is said to be, and I presume very justly, of great antiquity. It appears to have been settled in Oxfordshire for many centuries previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Towards the middle, or rather the close, of that illustrious period, Sir Toby Caulfield, one of those knights who seemed to have been actuated, not less by allegiance to his royal mistress, than love of arms, and chivalry, performed many deeds of renown, and contributed to the discomfiture of her enemies in the Low Countries, and in Spain. He afterwards came to Ireland, and for his notable services was, in the reign of her successor, made Baron of Charlemont, 22d December, 1620. It was intended to confer an earldom on him, but he either declined it, or died, before he received that addition to his honours. He was favoured with ample grants in the county of Armagh, and elsewhere. At this time, or somewhat before it, several proprietors of large and extensive territories, in various parts of Ireland, were, from many causes, often good, and often the reverse, totally deprived of them. The attainder of the Earl of Desmond alone, was followed with the confiscation of 574,628 English acres.* Such enormous grants were to the utmost degree

* Independent of his vassals, he had five hundred gentlemen of his kindred and surname. In point of territory and power, he was, perhaps, one of the greatest subjects at that time in Europe.

improvident, and contained in themselves the seeds of many rebellions; for it might be expected, that the power which they gave would not remain inert, but rather be employed in the aggrandizement of those to whom it was given, than that of the monarch from whom it was derived, or the tranquillity, and gradual improvement of the country where it was enjoyed.

The English court seemed at last to open its eyes to this fatal policy; and the lands of one turbulent chieftain, like Desmond, formed the property of several young men of family from England, who undertook, as the phrase was, the settlement of the country, and held their estates at a certain moderate rent from the crown. Some of the conditions annexed to the grants were however impolitic, insulting, and injurious to the last degree. No English planter was permitted to convey to any meer Irish. Heirs, females, were forbid to marry any but English birth; and none of meer Irish to be maintained in any family whatever. The plan, in other respects, was well conceived; but, as in all such procedures, the base avidity of those who were employed in giving it efficacy, totally regardless as they were of many an innocent sufferer, frustrated, in various instances, the intentions of those statesmen from whom the plan originated. But if the agent was avaricious, the politician was illiberal.* Such sufferers were, indeed, to be lamented; for as to several of the Lords, whose authority was thus almost annihilated, their history may be comprized in one short sentence,—barbarous chiefs, contending for barbarous power. In truth, the system adopted, almost from the invasion of Henry the Second, though in a great measure modelled on that which took place in England, after the Norman conquest, and such as ever will take place where a band of military adventurers subjugates any country, was the more inimical *here* to permanent tranquillity, as we were more distant from the seat of government, and that government always occupied in matters which engaged its constant and immediate attention. The moment that any considerable portion of territory was declared to be in subjection to, or in amity with, the English monarch, it became a palatinate,

* It may be said, also, very unjust; for although the "Meer Irish," (such was the language of the grants,) were thus proscribed, the principal guilt of Desmond's rebellion arose from his own connections, which, as well as himself, were of English, or rather foreign extraction. Desmond was a Fitzgerald, and that family is descended from the Dukes of Tuscany.

and was resigned to the almost entire dominion of some great chieftain, or leader. Thus the De Burghs possesed Galway, the De Courcys Ulster, the De Lacys Meath, East and West; the Geraldines* Kildare; the Le Botelers, or Butlers, Tipperary. Those great lords, or their descendants rather, were, generally speaking, only known to the Sovereign by their rebellions; and if they were not found in arms against him, they were certainly to be found in arms against one another.

Century after century beheld the Geraldines and Butlers engaged in mutual hostilities. But acquisition of power was not always the sole object of their warfare. Not unfrequently their dissensions, or those of other chieftains, had the most ridiculous origin. The counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, were doomed to witness the sad array of Geraldines, Botelers, and Berminghams, against the De Burghs and Le Poers, and to be destroyed by fire and sword, because the Lord Arnold Poer, with the piteous insolence of an unlettered man, had called the Earl of Kildare a rhymer. If such a book as Lord Orford's catalogue of royal and noble authors could have appeared in those days, meagre as its contents must necessarily have been, it would, I presume, have excited a second Trojan war in point of fury and duration. This miserable quarrel was only terminated by the interposition of Parliament, which was summoned on purpose, says Sir John Davies, to quiet this dissension. Some people have called those times the heroic ages! We have seen something like it in modern Poland. The quarrels of the Radzivils, the Oginskis, the Sapiehas, were nearly similar to those of our Botelers and Geraldines, with this difference, that, in an age far less refined than the present, or that which has preceded it, the Polish castellans, or chiefs, almost invariably aspired to, and possessed, an elegance of manners, and general knowledge, which formed a most singular contrast to the rest of the inhabitants of the country. In various parts of Poland, this is exactly the case still.—As to Ireland, the authority of Spencer is to be taken with some limitation. But, though a poet, he was no supine observer of the policy of States; and it is to be wished, that many of those who have succeeded him, as secretaries to our viceroys, had known Ireland half as well as he did. If, however, he is to

* The Fitzgeralds, of which family the Duke of Leinster is the head.

be credited, the house of the Earl of Ormonde was the only one in Queen Elizabeth's time, of those of our nobility, which was adorned by letters, or favorable to those who cultivated them.

" And in so faire a land as may be redd,
" Not one Parnassus, nor one Helicone,
" Left for sweete muses to be harboured,
" But where thyselfe hast thy brave mansion :
" There indeede dwell fair graces many one,
" And gentle nymphes, delights of learned wits :" *

But the transfer, or the regulation of property, however politic in some cases, and mischievous in others, were altogether circumscribed in their effects, compared to that sad, and dismal policy, which, for several years antecedent to the period when the first Lord Charlemont came to this country, issued from the councils of some of Queen Elizabeth's Ministers. The object of that policy, Alas! how was it afterwards pursued! was so to divide this country against itself, as gradually to govern the whole, with feeble, or no opposition whatever. Of this Statesmanship, if such it may be called, the execution was intrusted, or rather the continuance of it suggested, to Sir Henry Sydney, the Father of Sir Philip. A noble family, which, as it opened in one century with Lettered Chivalry, may be said, at the distance of another, to have closed its race of glory, though not its fame, with the most inspiring patriotism. Sir Henry acted as became him. He was a wise and upright statesman. With a lofty disinterestedness and fortitude, not always to be met with among the courtiers of that age, tinctured even as it was with romance, he desired his entire and absolute

* Sonnet by Spencer, to Thomas, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory ; he was Knight of the Garter. An illustrious character. He was great uncle to James, the first Duke of Ormonde. Carte has preserved an anecdote concerning both, which may be inserted here. He says, " that the Duke, when far advanced in life, used to speak of his being often carried, when he was three years old, to Carrick on Suir, where his venerable relation, Lord Ormonde, then lived ; and he could remember distinctly, the old Earl's caressing him in his arms, and upon his knees ; and the several circumstances of his long beard, his being blind, and the wearing of his George about his neck, whether he sat up in his chair, or lay down in his bed." This, to me at least, appears a most soothing and interesting picture.

recall, if a system was persisted in which could give neither honor to the viceroy, not salubrity to the state. He speaks of it as more particularly operating, at that time, in the provinces of Munster and Connaught, through which he was then making a progress. But its object was the whole kingdom, and began to be felt more or less every where. Sydney's words are remarkable: "But if that cowardly policy be still allowed of, to keep them in continual dissension, for fear, least through their quiet might follow I know not what; then mine advice to your Majesty, both is and shall be, to withdraw me, and all charge here. And so far hath that policy, or rather lack of policy, in keeping dissensions among them, prevailed, as now. Albeit, all that are alive would become honest and quiet." He touches on the characters of some of the great Lords who resided in the provinces above mentioned, and represents them, as not at all qualified for the sufficient melioration of the country, nor indeed, considering the manner in which they were bred, could any improvement be reasonably expected from them. Their ancestors fought against each other from utter barbarism and ignorance; and when a more intellectual day began to dawn, it was determined, that those who succeeded them, should be mutually hostile, from reasons of State, as such wicked nonsense is too often called. But Sydney was actuated by far different sentiments. His plan for meliorating the kingdom, was short, simple, and, had it been followed, permanently efficacious. "Your Majesty must plant justice here."* This he again and again repeats. Such are the counsels of the few who are wise and good. Counsels too often neglected, or too slowly adopted. It is curious to compare the politics, which prevailed in this country when the ancestor of the Caulfields came here, with those, (certainly not much more sublime,) which his illustrious descendant was destined to contend with for some part of his life. Much benefit has been derived to Ireland, from the institutions of that great Princess, Elizabeth; but what is history, if it does not record defects as well as excellencies?

To pursue the genealogical course of Lord Charlemont's progenitors is unnecessary. They were honourable men, and useful to the state. I write not, however, their history, but his.

William, the fifth baron, was created a viscount, 1665. He was

* See his dispatch to Queen Elizabeth, 20th April, 1567; it is of uncommon length.

always known by the memorable epithet of the *good* Lord Charlemont.* His daughter was married to Lord Carpenter, by which marriage the late Earl of Charlemont became nearly related to Alicia, Countess of Egremont,† a lady, of whom he always spoke with the truest respect, and whose beauty, and amiable qualities, have been poetically recorded by two very eminent noblemen, George, Lord Lyttleton, and the great Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. James, the third Viscount Charlemont, was married to Elizabeth, only daughter of Francis Bernard, of Castle Barnard, in the county of Cork, and died in 1734, leaving four sons, and two daughters. William, the eldest son, died young; James, the second son, whose history I now presume to offer to the public, was born in Dublin, the 18th of August, 1728.

He was never at a public school. It appears that he had almost as many preceptors, as the Regent Duke of Orleans had governors, but certainly, as to his morals, with very different effect. The first was Mr. Skelton, a respectable clergyman; then Mr. Barton; then another gentleman; and last of all came Mr. Murphy, a worthy man, and classical scholar, who published, among other things, an edition of Lucian. He was head master of a public accademy, but was prevailed on to abandon that situation, and reside entirely with his pupil, whom he afterwards accompanied abroad, and was most cordially attached to. Lord Charlemont regarded him with affection; and, as it appears from Murphy's letters, acted towards him with unvarying generosity and kindness. At what year of his Lordship's life Murphy became connected with him I cannot say; but he felt his deficiency in school learning so strongly, when placed under that gentleman's care, that he read almost incessantly, and so much by candle-light, that his eyes were considerably weakened. For the last thirty years of his life, he could neither write nor read at night, not the least.

He went abroad in the autumn of 1746, and first visited Holland, where, as he used often to relate, he attended the whole revolution, or tumult, which terminated in the establishment of the Prince of Orange as Stadtholder. From Holland, he proceeded to the English camp,

* See Lord Carpenter's Life.

† Mother of the present Earl, and afterwards married to Count Bruhl.

in Germany, and passed some time there with William, Duke of Cumberland, who was not only extremely kind to him then, but through life. He had good sense, and firmness enough of mind, to go at once from the English camp, and the agreeable military society which he met there, to Turin, where he directly entered the academy, and resided at it for one year, sometimes making excursions into other parts of Italy. The Prince Royal, who was also of the academy, was very cordial, and friendly to his lordship; and from the king, and all the Sardinian family, he experienced every gracious attention. Whilst he continued at Turin, he read not only books, but men, with sedulous attention. The court, at that time, abounded with political,* and many eminent literary characters. Among others, whom he met there, was David Hume, the historian, whose society he was much attached to, though without the slightest deviation from those just and religious principles, which he had the good fortune to imbibe early at home. Indeed, that philosopher appears to have had as little influence over his young, and noble friend, in matters of religious faith, as at a subsequent period he had in politics; and to touch further on either subject is useless, as Lord Charlemont was ever a sincere Christian, and, from reading and experience, as unalterable a Whig, as Hume was an inflexible Tory. Of this eminent man he has given an account so particular and exact, that I should be unpardonable if I did not present it to the reader.†

"The celebrated David Hume, whose character is so deservedly high in the literary world, and whose works, both as a Philosopher and as an Historian, are so wonderfully replete with genius and entertainment, was, when I was at Turin, Secretary to Sir John Sinclair, plenipotentiary from the court of Great Britain to his Sardinian majesty. He had then lately published those philosophical essays which have done so much mischief to mankind, by contributing to loosen the sacred bonds by which alone man can be restrained from rushing to his own destruction, and which are so intimately necessary to our nature, that a propensity to be bound by

* The Marquis St. Germain, who, in 1749, went Ambassador from Turin to France, was a particular intimate of Lord Charlemont's. He was also much connected with Comte Perron.

† Manuscript papers of the late Earl of Charlemont.

them, was apparently instilled into the human mind, by the allwise Creator, as a balance against those passions which, though perhaps necessary as incitements to activity, must, without such controul, inevitably have hurried us to our ruin. The world, however, unconscious of its danger, had greedily swallowed the bait; the essays were received with applause, read with delight, and their admired author was already, by public opinion, placed at the head of the dangerous school of Sceptic philosophy.

" With this extraordinary man I was intimately acquainted. He had kindly distinguished me from among a number of young men, who where then at the academy, and appeared so warmly attached to me, that it was apparent he not only intended to honour me with his friendship, but to bestow on me what was, in his opinion, the first of all favours and benefits, by making me his convert and disciple.

" Nature, I believe, never formed any man more unlike his real character than David Hume. The powers of phisiognomy were baffled by his countenance; neither could the most skilful, in that science, pretend to discover the smallest trace of the faculties of his mind, in the unmeaning features of his visage. His face was broad and fat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes, vacant and spiritless, and the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a turtle-eating Alderman, than of a refined philosopher. His speech, in English, was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scotch accent, and his French was, if possible, still more laughable; so that wisdom, most certainly, never disguised herself before in so uncouth a garb. Though now near fifty years old, he was healthy and strong; but his health and strength, far from being advantageous to his figure, instead of manly comeliness, had only the appearance of rusticity. His wearing an uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness, for he wore it like a grocer of the trained bands. Sinclair was a Lieutenant-general, and was sent to the courts of Vienna and Turin, as a military envoy, to see that their quota of troops was furnished by the Austrians and Piedmontese. It was, therefore, thought necessary that his secretary should appear to be an officer, and Hume was accordingly disguised in scarlet.*

* I cannot avoid mentioning here an anecdote, which was communicated to me by Sinclair

" Having thus given an account of his exterior, it is but fair that I should state my good opinion of his character. Of all the philosophers of his sect, none, I believe, ever joined more real benevolence to its mischievous principles than my friend Hume. His love to mankind was universal, and vehement ; and there was no service he would not cheerfully have done to his fellow creatures, excepting only that of suffering them to save their souls in their own way. He was tender-hearted, friendly, and charitable in the extreme, as will appear from a fact, which I have from good authority. When a member of the university of Edinburgh, and in great want of money, having little or no paternal fortune, and the collegiate stipend being very inconsiderable, he had procured, through the interest of some friend, an office in the university, which was worth about forty pounds a year. On the day when he had received this good news, and just when he had got into his possession the patent, or grant entitling him to his office, he was visited by his friend Blacklock, the poet, who is much better known by his poverty and blindness, than by his genius. This poor man began a long descant on his misery, bewailing his want of sight, his large family of children, and his utter inability to provide for them, or even to procure them the necessaries of life. Hume, unable to bear his complaints, and destitute of money to assist him, ran instantly to his desk, took out the grant, and presented it to his miserable friend, who received it with exultation, and whose name was soon after, by Hume's interest, inserted instead of his own. After such a relation it is needless that I should say any more of his genuine philanthropy, and generous beneficence ; but the difficulty will now occur, how a man, endowed with such qualities, could possibly consent to become the agent of so much mischief, as undoubtedly has been done to mankind by his writings ; and this difficulty can only be

himself. Being sent to command a body of troops, destined to invade the French Coast, and being wholly unacquainted with the country, where he had never been, he earnestly requested, from the War-Office, a set of accurate maps, by which he might direct his operations. The landing being made good, he was now to march into a country, of which he knew nothing, and, therefore, had recourse to his maps, which he had not before examined, and which, when unpacked, proved to be Sea-Charts ! Such was the negligence of some of our official people in those days.

CHARLEMONT.

solved by having recourse to that universal passion, which has, I fear, a much more general influence over all our actions than we are willing to confess. Pride, or vanity, joined to a sceptical turn of mind, and to an education which, though learned, rather sipped knowledge than drank it, was, probably, the ultimate cause of this singular phenomenon; and the desire of being placed at the head of a sect, whose tenets controverted and contradicted all received opinions, was too strong to be resisted by a man, whose genius enabled him to find plausible arguments, sufficient to persuade both himself and many others, that his own opinions were true. A philosophical knight-errant was the dragon he had vowed to vanquish, and he was careless, or thoughtless, of the consequences which might ensue from the achievement of the adventure to which he had pledged himself.—He once professed himself the admirer of a young, most beautiful, and accomplished lady, at Turin, who only laughed at his passion. One day he addressed her in the usual common-place strain, that he was *abimè, anéanti.*—"*Oh! pour anéanti,*" replied the lady, "*ce n'est en effet qu' une operation très naturelle de vôtre Systême.*" Hume will be mentioned afterwards in the course of these memoirs, as Lord Charlemont often met him in England, and always preserved an intimacy with him.

His lordship left Turin on Tuesday, October 27th, 1748, on his way to Rome, by Bologna. He remained that winter at Rome and Naples, but in the subsequent April he, with Mr. Francis Pierpont Burton, Mr. Scott, Mr. Dalton, and Mr. Murphy, sailed from Leghorn, on their voyage to Constantinople, and the East.—Mr. Pierpont Burton, afterwards Lord Conyngham,* was, on his return to Ireland, member for the county of Clare. He was beloved by every one who knew him; and Lord Charlemont, by whom, in the course of their travels, he is always familiarly called, Frank Burton, having occasion to mention him particularly at Constantinople, says, "that he was endowed by nature with every endearing faculty which "could render a friend amiable; with every perfection of heart which con-"stitutes the best, and surest foundation for friendship, and secures its dura-"tion; the dear, and agreeable companion of his travels." His countenance

* Father to the present Lord Conyngham.

was benign, his figure tall, and remarkably large and corpulent. He was well known and esteemed by men of rank, and letters too, in England, particularly Sterne, who highly valued and esteemed him.

Mr. Dalton went with Lord Charlemont as his draughtsman. It has been stated to me, that as an artist he was miserable, but exact and faithful: and that his etchings of religious ceremonies, and customs of the Turks, with explanations, though indifferently executed, are remarkably clear and satisfactory. Murphy has been already mentioned. "On the 6th of May, 1749," says Lord Charlemont,* "we approached the city of Messina, having securely passed the poetical dangers of Scylla and Charybdis. We were exceedingly struck with the beauty and magnificence of this city, when viewed from the sea. The sun was newly risen, and richly illuminated a splendid theatre of palaces, occupying the space of a full mile, which is regularly built round one-half of that beautiful, and extensive bason of clear and unruffled water, which forms a harbour at all times commodious and safe. Between the magnificent crescent, or semicircle, and the water, is a level space, at least one hundred feet in breadth, bounded on one side by the buildings, and on the other, by a handsome parapet of hewn stone, opening regularly into several wharfs for the convenience of landing. The palaces are all exactly similar, and the governor's palace, a building of considerable extent and grandeur, stands alone at one extremity. The entrance into the city, which extends itself behind this superb quay, is through noble and spacious arches, placed at proper, and regular intervals, and forming a most striking part of the general plan. Opposite to the quay, and near the entrance into the port, stands the citadel, a fortress of considerable strength, and massive magnificence, which, with the castle of St. Salvadore, another strong fortification in view, adds greatly to the beauty of the prospect.

"A boat was now sent alongside of our ship to inform us, that till we had passed a proper examination by the officers of health, appointed for that purpose, we must not enter the city; and a naked and uninhabited part of the beach, at a considerable distance, was pointed out to us, where alone we

* M. S. papers.

could be permitted to land. In obedience to these directions, getting into our boat, we rowed on shore, and here we were detained above three hours, before any one came near us. At length the officers approached, keeping, however, a due distance, and examined us respecting the port from whence we had taken our departure, which being found to be Leghorn, a place perfectly unsuspected of contagion, they began to be a little more familiar. Our bills of health were now produced, and found to be perfect, and we were desired to enter a sort of house, or square cottage, erected for the purpose of further examination. As soon as we had all crowded into this wretched inclosure, a bar of wood was put across the door, at about three feet in height from the floor, and we were ordered to shew our health, and agility, by leaping over this bar, a feat which was easily, and merrily performed by all of us, Burton only excepted, whose corpulent unweildiness was ill adapted to the exercise of leaping, and had well nigh prevented his getting *pratick*.—After several ineffectual trials, and some oaths, his efforts were, at length, attended with success, and we now proceeded to the last probation, being ordered to strike ourselves violently on our groins, and on the insertion of our shoulders, being the parts of the body which are liable to pestilential tumours. Here also my friend Burton was not a little embarrassed; for, though perfectly free from the plague, and, at that time, from any other disorder, his groin was by no means in a situation to bear any rough treatment."

Such was our whimsical probation, which, as may easily be imagined, afforded us no small entertainment. But our merriment was of short duration, giving way, as soon as we had entered the city, to ideas of a nature opposite indeed. Here every thing we saw induced us not only to excuse, but to applaud that caution, which had detained us so long, and given us so much trouble. Every object too plainly indicated the miseries which had been lately felt. This noble city, not long since one of the finest in the world, and the pride of Sicily, was now the seat of ruin and desolation! Scarcely a passenger in the streets, where grass had covered the pavement; and the Jews, that were to be seen, wretches in whose pale countenances were clearly to be traced sickness, famine, despair, and, sometimes, guilt and violence; the shops shut up,

and only here and there a miserable stall open for vending some necessary, but trifling commodities. The noble palaces, heretofore seats of triumph and festivity, were now involved in silence and desolation, stripped of their inhabitants, presenting to the saddened mind the shocking idea of the final wreck of mortal beauty, when the animating soul is fled."—Thus did Messina appear, when Lord Charlemont visited it; and such were the dreadful consequences of a plague, equal, perhaps, in horrors, to that of Athens, or Florence, as described by Thucydides, and Boccacio. It raged with violence for three months, during which time it swept away, in Messina *alone*, the population of which was estimated at sixty thousand inhabitants, not less than forty-seven thousand. This calculation Lord Charlemont took at a medium, and was certain that it was rather under, than above the truth. He must have been very accurate, as he consulted the best informed persons,—our consul, Mr. Chamberlayne, other gentlemen of the English factory, and the governor of Messina, the last of whom entered particularly into the subject with him, and all were on the spot during the plague's melancholy continuance.

A Genoese Tartar, under Neapolitan colours, laden with wool, bale goods, and corn, first introduced it. The plague had raged in the Morea, and this vessel came directly from Patras to Messina. But the captain pretended that he had come from Brindisi, and counterfeited sound bills of health from that port; but his death in the Lazzaretto, (for he was ordered to perform quarantine) and that of some of his sailors, first awakened suspicion. The Messinese, however, were not sufficiently attentive, till it was too late; but the English factory happily took the alarm, shut themselves up in their houses, and, by absolutely declining all intercourse with the inhabitants, (fortunately their warehouses were well stored with flour, and various provisions) entirely and providentially escaped. Not one of that respectable body of merchants, or their servants, caught the infection, except a Sicilian boy, who, tired of confinement, jumped out of a window, went into the city, and died the next day. It is remarkable, that the departure of this dreadful visitant was as sudden as its first invasion; but its horrible effects were felt for several years afterwards. Lord Charlemont concludes his account of this memorable calamity with the following just observations.—

" The chief, and real source of this evil, must be looked for in that cause, which has often been assigned, the absurd and wicked doctrine of predestination, which is strongly inculcated in the Coran, and firmly believed by the generality of Mahometans. Relying on this rooted opinion, they suffer the contagion to take its course, unchecked, unopposed, freely conversing with those who are infected, and never scrupling to inhabit the dwellings, and even to wear the clothes of those who have died of the disorder. A striking instance in proof of this incontrovertible maxim; that whatever may be the reason, why evil is necessary in the general system, and whatever ills may, in consequence of this moral necessity, be inflicted on mankind by an all-wise Providence, they are almost universally multiplied and aggravated by our own obstinate vice or folly."

It may be concluded, that Lord Charlemont did not remain long at Messina. He arrived at Malta, the 20th of June following, which, as will appear shortly, he afterwards re-visited. In his voyage to Constantinople, he stopt at one or two of the Greek islands; Smyrna, the Dardanelles, Tenedos, which he examined carefully, and, (whilst a vestige of taste or sensibility remains on this earth) the ever-interesting Troade. Whilst in this country, or rather at Constantinople, he became of age, and wrote the following ode, or rather imitation of Horace, to Mr. Richard Marlay, afterwards Lord Bishop of Waterford, with whom he preserved an uninterrupted friendship during life. The bishop was son of Lord Chief Justice Marlay, and to the most engaging manners added the most agreeable talents. An excellent prelate, and universally esteemed and regarded. He lived in much intimacy with Edmund Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Doctor Johnson, Mr. Malone, and Mr. Boswell, in whose agreeable life of Johnson he is frequently mentioned. He was also maternal uncle to the right honorable Henry Grattan, and died a very few years since, at his seat at Cellbridge, in Ireland.

## "*My Birth-Day Ode, written August* 22, 1749.
### To Richard Marlay.

Eheu; fugaces, Posthume, Posthume, labuntur anni.

1.

My Marlay! see the rolling years
With certain speed, our lives devour;
Each day its due proportion bears,
And nearer brings the fatal hour.

2.

'Tis one-and-twenty years, this day,
Since first I drew my vital breath;
So much the nearer to decay,
So much have I approach'd to death.

3.

He well has liv'd, who, when the sun
Departing yields to silent night,
Can say, my task this day is done,
And let to-morrow seize its right.

4.

How many minutes, days, and weeks,
My soul recalling finds mispent;
T' excuse the loss, in vain she seeks
Of time, for other purpose lent.

5.

Oh! could I but recal that time!
Could I but live those years again!
What then? Perhaps the selfsame crime,
Regret again, and double pain.

6.

The price of time, like that of health,
Is seldom known till each is lost:
By want, we learn to value wealth,
And wish for summer, chill'd by frost.

7.

'Tis past three years—'twill soon be four,
Since last I saw my dearest friend:
So much is lost! and now they're o'er,
Who knows if fate three more will lend.

8.

Cease! reason, cease! This festal day
In harmless pleasures let us pass:
One bumper toast---I'll shew the way;
'Tis Marlay's health;---fill up the glass."

He continued at Constantinople not much more than a month; but it appears that, whilst there, though occupied by constant and necessary visits to the principal personages among the Turks, he was indefatigable in his researches as to the customs, manners, and real character of that people. His investigation was greatly aided by Dr. Mackenzie, who had resided many years in that capital, as physician to the English ambassador, and English factory. This gentleman was highly valued by the Turks, who placed uncommon confidence in his skill, and frequently consulted him. Lord Charlemont acknowledges peculiar obligations to this learned and ingenious man. The following letter from him to his lordship is merely given, as alluding to what I have stated.

My dear Lord,

I send your lordship inclosed an answer to the questions you were pleased to leave in my hands; but I am still in doubt about two or three answers, as I have marked, though they are from very good hands.—I hope your lordship has had great satisfaction in your travels, which must have been attended with no small trouble; but the way to virtue and knowledge is represented to be difficult, and is certainly so. *Difficilia quæ pulchra.* However, they are pleasant upon reflection, and make sufficient amends for all sufferings. We have have had no changes here since you left us, only that the ladies,* then big with child, are all safely delivered of daughters. I beg the favor of your lordship to make my compliments to all your fellow-travellers; and if I can be any way of use to your lordship, whilst I remain in this country, there is none more ready to serve you, than,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
and most devoted, humble Servant,
Mordack Mackenzie.

Pera, November 1st, 1749.

* At the Seraglio.

Lord Charlemont proceeded from Constantinople to Egypt. In his voyage thither, he visited Lesbos, Chios, Micone, Delos, and Paros, from which island he sailed to Alexandria. Having seen every thing that was worthy the curiosity of an enlightened traveller in Egypt, that land of wonders, as he termed it, on the 22d October, 1749, he left Alexandria, with an intention of visiting Cyprus, which he came in sight of; but continued contrary winds, and violent gales, forced him, after seven days voyage, to anchor in Rhodes. He sailed from thence for Athens. The wind not being fair on the day that he left Rhodes, he continued tacking between that place and the mountainous, rocky coast of Caria, now called Carimania. On the morning of November 9th, being within about three miles of the point of the promontory of Doris, which forms the south-east side of the Sinus Ceramicus, now called the Gulf of Stanco, perceiving, as he came near land, considerable ruins on the declivity of the mountain, and the situation of the place agreeing with that of Cnidus, he, with his fellow travellers, took their boat, and rowed ashore. The first object that struck them on landing, was a most noble theatre, all of white marble; the breadth in front 190, and the depth 150 feet. They counted thirty-six steps, or seats, all entire, and joined with the most perfect accuracy. Above the theatre were the beautiful remains of a magnificent temple, of the whitest marble, perhaps Parian, from its purity and grain;—this, Lord Charlemont presumed, was the temple of the Cnidian Venus, which Praxiteles enriched with the famous statue of that goddess, the perfection of his art, in the estimation of the ancient world of taste. The architecture being Corinthian, which order, with the Ionic, was usually appropriated to the temples of goddesses, Minerva excepted, as the Doric was to gods and heroes, induced him the more to indulge this conjecture. Altogether, he was delighted with what he saw here, and blest the contrary winds that afforded him that pleasure.—He then visited Stanco, the ancient Cos, or Coos. "It contains," he says, "little worthy a traveller's notice." He then crossed over to the continent, and came to a place called Bodromi, nearly opposite to the island of Stanco. Bodromi is wretched, but it presented such noble ruins, marbles, and every remains of a great city, that, with the scite, confirmed him in the opinion of its being the famous Halicarnassus, the capital of Caria. "It

enriched us," says Lord Charlemont, "with drawings of the finest basso relievos, the most precious remains of ancient Greek taste and workmanship, that our travels have, as yet, afforded us."

Cythnus, now Thermia, was then visited by him; and, on the 23d of November, he was opposite to Egina. Soon after, he and his companions entered the Piræus, where they staid one night, waiting for the return of their druggerman, whom they had sent with their firman, to be laid before the Governor of Attica, and the next morn proceeded to that city, which must ever surpass all other cities in renown, Athens.

At this place, the very mention of which must, I think, fill a refined mind with delight, Lord Charlemont remained, as we may suppose, for some time. As he came near Athens, he was particularly struck with the temple of Theseus, "Which," says he, "alone merits a voyage to Greece." The Morea was visited by him; Thebes, Corinth, and the ancient Eubœa; of the last-mentioned places his lordship has given a most accurate, and pleasing account. It is alike replete with erudition, and with taste. To abridge, would be to injure it, and it is far too extended for these memoirs.

He returned to Athens on the 14th of December, 1749, from the harbour of Aulis, that renowned haven, which the mighty genius of Homer, and the pathetic, moral muse of Euripides, have clothed with a portion of their never-dying fame!*—He had visited almost every island in the Egean; some of them on his way from Italy to Constantinople, or from that city to Egypt. In his voyage from Alexandria to Athens he touched at Rhodes, as I have already stated; but it appears that he was there a second time. What his exact course was, I am not able to ascertain; however, this is certain, that on his way from Rhodes to Malta, Lord Charlemont, with his companions, encountered a storm of the most terrific kind, which he has well described. "After a few days of tolerable, though dark, and threatening weather, we were overtaken, on the 20th of January, by one of the most violent hurricanes that ever was known in those seas. The storm,

* See the Chorus at the conclusion of the first and second acts of Iphigenia in Aulis. The opening of the latter is exquisitely elegant; "Μάκαρες οἱ μυρίας Θεᾶς," &c.

which was at south-east, the most dangerous of all winds in the Mediterranean, dreaded by sailors under the name of Levanter, began about noon, and continued all day, gradually increasing. Whilst we had day-light to assist, and to comfort us, we put ourselves before the wind, and bore away with what little sail we could carry. Night came on, and the storm redoubled. Ignorant in what part of the sea we then were, for the darkness of the weather had for some days past prevented us from taking any observation, we guessed, as in cases of this kind we are always prompt to guess the worst, that we were driving up the Adriatic, the sea of all others most feared by mariners; and, therefore, dreading the consequence of a lee-shore, destitute of harbours, and afraid any longer to leave ourselves at the disposal of the wind, we put the helm about, and lay too, under our courses, double reefed. Now was but the beginning of horror. The tempest raged with tenfold fury. The gloom of night was unnaturally horrid. The scudding clouds at times divided, affording faint and transient gleams of brassy light, far more dreadful than the deepest darkness. The waves rose mountain high; and to me, who, supported in the gang-way, stood gazing at the magnificent ruin, the whole ocean appeared in flames, through which the vessel ploughed her desperate way. Sometimes perched on the giddy brow of the stupendous accumulation, and again plunging precipitate into the flaming abyss. The motion was now grown so violent, that I could no longer support it, and I was unwillingly preparing to go down into the cabin, when a squall of wind, to the fury of which the settled tempest became a calm, laid the ship down almost on her side, and broke three out of her five main shrouds. The cannon broke loose, and, together with all our loading, and a great part of the ballast, rushed at once to the lee-side of the vessel, with such horrible crash, that the ship seemed to have burst in pieces. If the whole globe should, by sudden explosion, be rent asunder, I question whether the shock would be greater to each individual, than what was now felt in our little world. Every heart quaked with fear, and horror appeared in every countenance. Nor, even after the immediate shock was over, did the consequences seem less terrible. The ship, weighed down by the shifting of her ballast, &c. was unable to right herself, and lay, gunwale under water, at the mercy of the billows, which seemed, every instant,

ready to devour her. Our captain now, a brave and experienced seaman addressed the sailors, in words to this effect: " My lads, you see the situation to which we are reduced. The vessel is old, and not much to be depended on. If we should spring our main-mast, she would, undoubtedly, go to pieces, and that must be the consequence of another such squall. I know of no resource, but to make fast the buoy rope to the mast-head, which, being belayed at the ship's side, may serve as a false shroud, and may possibly preserve the mast. I well know the difficulty of the attempt. To go aloft in such a situation is more than I can venture to order. I am an old sailor, and should fear to attempt it. But it is our only means of safety, and if there be a fellow among you, brave enough,"——Here he was instantly interrupted by *Tom Sillers*, (I never shall forget his name) who stood next to him; this truly, and I may add, philosophically, brave fellow, taking from his cheek the plug of tobacco, cried out, " by G—, master, if we must die, 'tis better to die doing something." His words accompanied his action. He was presently at the mast-head,—the buoy-rope was made fast, and the mast belayed; and thus, by the astonishing bravery and activity of one man, that danger, which seemed imminent, was at least postponed. Such are British sailors!

" We now retired to our beds, dreading the worst, yet not without hope when, after about an hour's horrid uncertainty, the captain entered our cabin, and told us, that he feared all was over. That, though at sea from his infancy, he had never seen such a night. That the ship indeed might possibly ride it out. Yet, that he would recommend it to us, to prepare for the worst. How this sentence was felt may easily be judged. A dead silence ensued, which lasted for some minutes, but was finally broken by my friend, Frank Burton, who lay next bed to me. ' Well,' exclaimed he, and I fear, with an oath, ' this is fine indeed! Here have I been pampering this great body of mine, for more than twenty years, and all to be a prey to some cursed shark, and be damned to him!' The unexpected oddity of such an exclamation at such a time, the profound seriousness, and consequent comicalness, with which it was uttered, together with the character and figure of the man, for Frank was a Bon Vivant, almost as conspicuous for size and corpulence, as for the excellent temper of his mind, were motives of mirth

too strong to be resisted, and, in the midst of our fears, we burst out into a loud laugh. Neither let this incident, this comic break in our tragedy, appear unnatural. Nature, and Shakespeare, both inform us, that character will prevail in the midst of distress.

"Our merriment, however, was but of short duration; and now the ship-carpenter entered our cabin. This fellow, who was an excellent seaman, had been a great favourite of our's, and, consequently, was our friend. 'Masters,' said he, 'the captain has, I find, been with you. But never fear—the ship is a tight one—I have examined her thoroughly. There is not an inch in her carcass with which I am unacquainted. She is strong and good. There is indeed one *rotten plank*, and that a principal one—let that hold, and we are all safe.' This consolation, as may easily be guessed, was not exactly fitted to relieve us; forgetful of the strength and tightness of the vessel, our minds, as may be supposed, ran on the *rotten* plank. In this situation we passed the tedious night; shut up in a noisome and agitated dungeon, the gloom of which was made visible by the dim twinkling of a swinging lamp, and which had but too much the semblance of a tomb already prepared for us. Scarcely able, with all our strength, to keep ourselves in our beds; and bruised, in every part of our bodies, by our continued efforts, and by the violence of the agitation; wet by the sea-water, which dashed in through every crevice, and gave us a melancholy foretaste of the final wetting which we expected, and dreaded; we seemed cut off from all hope, but that of a speedy period to our lives and tortures; yet still we hoped,—the principle of religion was active in our souls, and despair fled before it. Woe to the wretch who, in such a situation, is destitute of this comfort! Our prayers were heard: day at length appeared: the sun arose: the storm abated: soon we were able to quit our dungeon. The tempest now subsided into a steady gale, and no effect remained but that uneasy swell,—the certain consequence of a violent storm. Still, however, our situation was disagreeable: our shattered vessel still lay with her gunwale close to the water's edge; and, utterly ignorant where we were, we knew not what course to steer, or where to seek protection.

"A man was now sent up to the mast-head to discover land; a second, a third went aloft; still no land was to be seen.—At length, one cried out

from above, in a voice which seemed to us, indeed, from Heaven, that he saw land! The captain himself went up, and verified the discovery. Land there was directly before us, and we were hastening towards it; gradually it grew more and more visible, and we could now discern it from the deck; but what was our joy, when we found that this land was the identical island of Malta, the end and purpose of our voyage. It is impossible to describe our feelings: I shall not attempt it. All happiness is more or less perfect, as it is more, or less contrasted by misery; and here was a sudden transition from fear to hope, from danger to security, from misery to joy, from impending death to life!

"A few hours now brought us into the harbour, one of the safest and best in the world. We were presently surrounded by a multitude of boats, laden with every kind of refreshment; and particularly what to sea-faring men is most of all things agreeable, with plenty of fruit, and of garden-stuff, which, in this happy climate, was now in the greatest perfection; and, to give additional relish to this pleasing circumstance, nature had now re-assumed her functions, and our stomachs were importunate for food, having fasted for near two days, as it had not been possible to dress any victuals, even after the storm had abated, on account of the violent swell. Every thing now concurred to delight us; past misery is present comfort; and to reflect on our distress was happiness: to have had so near a view of that undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns; to have peeped securely into the cave of death; to have tried our hearts at the approach of dissolution, were circumstances which afforded us the highest satisfaction. All nature now smiled on us. To view the crowd of idle mortals who gathered on the shore to gaze upon the vessel, which had weathered the storm, was a new source of exultation to those, who had so lately feared never more to behold their fellow-creatures. Our sailors were to us objects of admiration, of gratitude, and of love; nay, our ship, which had so bravely held out in such a trial, inspired us with affection, insomuch that, though we found ourselves condemned to forty days imprisonment, in her, as we were now obliged to perform quarantine, we were, I suppose, the happiest mortals on the globe. We had, besides, a thousand things to do: our ship to set to rights; our papers to settle; the journals

of our long, and curious voyage to look over, and to put in order.—In short, we did not suppose that the forty days would be more than sufficient for our several projected occupations; yet such is the restless nature of man, ten of them had scarcely elapsed, when we grew weary of our situation; and we were more than rejoiced, when, upon our petition, accompanied by sound bills of health, the time of our confinement was, by the kind grand master, shortened.

"On the three and twentieth day after our providential escape, we were permitted to go on shore, and took up our abode at our consul's house, in the city of Malta. Here we were received with the most cordial affection. Having before called at this island, on our way to the Levant, we found ourselves among old acquaintance. Every day was a new festival;—the knights of the several nations into which the order is divided, gave us splendid entertainments. The grand master, Don Emanuel Pinto, an old, and very respectable Portuguese nobleman, was peculiarly kind to us.—We dined at the palace, with his high chamberlain; and, though the etiquette would not permit him to eat in company with us, as soon as dinner was removed, he joined our society, and remained with us the whole evening; nay, so far did he push his civility, that masked balls, though, for some years discontinued, and prohibited by positive edict, on account of some unlucky riots, were again allowed; and it was specified, that this was done on our account, and for our entertainment. And here I must not omit to mention a singular ceremony observed, at my introduction to this prince.—All grandees of Spain, peers of France, British and Irish lords, are, it seems, by long prescription, allowed to be presented with their hats on. In consequence of this privilege, I entered his chamber alone, with my head covered, and he received me in the same situation. After the first compliments were passed, he pulled off his hat, and I did the same, when the remainder of the company was presented. Thus agreeably did we pass our time in this hospitable island. Our mornings were spent in excursions through the country, for which purpose the grand master provided us with horses from his own stables: great dinners were every day given to us.—In short, it was happy for us that we had not much time to reside here, since our constitutions, however young and vigorous, could not long have

resisted the continued riots of this Circæan region, where there is no intermission to festivity of every sort, drinking not excepted, which, though to the last degree dangerous in this hot climate, is but too much the fashion here, especially among the German knights.

" It may be well conceived, that a multitude of gentlemen, in the prime and vigour of youth, cooped up in a small island, with little or no occupation, but what they can provide for themselves, should naturally fall into dissipation. And so it is ; there is not, I suppose, in the world, a set of men so thoroughly debauched as these holy knights, these military monks, defenders of the faith against infidels!—Obliged by their vows to celibacy, they make no scruple to take, without bounds, illicitly, that which is denied them in a lawful way. The town of Malta is one vast brothel.— Every woman almost is a knight's mistress, and every mistress intrigues with other men. Hither flock, as to an established mart for beauty, the female votaries of Venus from every distant region,—Armenians, Jewesses, Greeks, Italians! The few virtuous women, natives of the island, are retired to Medina, an inland city, about eight miles from Malta, and here they live, tolerably free from solicitation, not so much on account of their distance, as because the Maltese blood has too much of the Moor in it, to be exceedingly tempting.

" With respect to the constitution, the rules, and administration of the order, I shall say nothing concerning them ; the subject has been too often treated, and is too well known, to admit of any farther information from me, I shall only mention, that, whatever they may formerly have done, the knights of Malta are, at present, of little annoyance to the Turks ; their gallies, and two or three very large men of war, make frequent cruizes ; and the knights, who are yet in their noviciate, perform aboard them, what they call their caravans, without a certain number of which they cannot be received into the order of professed knights.—But they seldom meet any Turkish ship of war, and usually content themselves with picking up a few straggling traders, the greatest part of which belongs to the poor Greeks. I will add one circumstance more, as I can mention it with pleasure. As at their primitive institution the knights of Malta were Knights Hospitalers, in order to keep up the charitable institution, attendance upon

the sick is still made a principal part of their duty; and one of the principal buildings in the city is a vast hospital, where the diseased, from every part of the world, are received, and nobly treated. The knights constantly attend in rotation, and themselves administer to the patients. Nothing can be more pleasing to a feeling mind, than the generous, kind, and affectionate manner in which these poor wretches are treated; and such is the magnificence of the institution, that every culinary vessel belonging to the hospital is made of solid silver.

"The wonderful extent, and strength of the fortifications, which have rendered this place, to all appearance, impregnable, and which are daily increasing, a very large revenue being annually appropriated to their augmentation, is also a matter of too great notoriety to be insisted on by me: I shall, therefore, conclude this part of my subject, with mentioning a fact, not wholly uninteresting, which came to my knowledge during my residence at Malta, and was related to me by the most credible eye witnesses.

"Towards the end of that war with France, so generously undertaken, and so vigorously carried on, by England, in defence of the House of Austria, there happened to be, in these parts, an English privateer of some force, and commanded by a captain of such skill and bravery, that he reigned paramount in the Mediterranean, daily sending into the port of Malta French prizes of considerable value. It may easily be conceived, that, in a war circumstanced as this was, parties must necessarily have ran high in an island, where the principal inhabitants were composed of young gentlemen, collected from all the several belligerent powers. The Austrian and Piedmontese knights, on the one hand, and the French and Spaniards on the other, maintained a perpetual warfare. The French knights, irritated by the successes of our English captain, and not chusing to bear any longer the consequent taunts of their adversaries, wrote to their correspondents at Marseilles, an account of the hazard to which their trade was exposed; and prevailed on them to fit out a privateer, which might be able to cope with the Englishman. In consequence of these representations, an armed vessel speedily arrived at Malta, well equipped, of force almost double to that of its intended antagonist, and commanded by an officer of the highest character for courage and naval knowledge. The captain was received with

acclamations. At length he sailed out of the harbour, in search of the devoted Englishman, as to a certain victory. The French party now exulted in confidence of sure and brilliant success; but, after a sufficient time, began to be impatient for the return of their hero, and the ramparts were constantly crowded with his expecting friends. At length two ships appeared in the offing, one apparently having the other in tow. As they approached, French colours, on the foremost ship, were seen with transport. Nothing could equal the exultation of the Gallic party. The ships still drew nearer, with a favourable gale; and now they turned into the harbour, saluted by triumphant shouts, when, to the amazement of all the spectators, the French colours were suddenly hauled down, and the English hoisted in their stead. The fact was, that, after a long conflict, in which his ship had been exceedingly shattered, the English captain had, at length, prevailed; but finding his own ship too much impaired to make sail, he had boarded the prize, and taken the conqueror in tow, chusing to come in under French colours, in order to enhance the disappointment of his enemies, and the consequent surprize, and joy of his friends."

When Lord Charlemont returned to Italy,* he became, after a certain time, so accurately versed in its language, that he was, on that account, as well as the variety of his accomplishments, truly acceptable to all persons of rank and fashion, and especially to the eminent Italian literary characters. At Turin he renewed his connection with the Prince Royal, then recently married to a Princess of Spain, and at whose marriage Lord Charlemont, by the particular request of the Prince, was present. They were nearly contemporaries as to age; and, when his Royal Highness became King of Sardinia, he desired more than one illustrious English traveller to tell Lord Charlemont, that if he returned to Turin he would find Victor Amadeus unchanged, except in station. He made excursions to Sienna, Lucca, and other places, with Lord Bruce, the present Earl of Aylesbury; a nobleman to whom, during his life, he was invariably attached,

* Lord Charlemont wrote an account of his tour through, or residence in Italy, which, as the present Earl informed me, cannot be found, though most carefully searched after. Such particulars as I have been enabled to give, are from the best information that I could procure. What I have stated here, relative to the Duc de Nivernois, the late Lord frequently mentioned to me, as also his dislike of Monsieur de Choiseul.

and ever spoke of with the most affectionate regard. Whilst at Verona, the Marchese Scipione Maffei, so deservedly mentioned by Lady Wortley Montague, as " having the happiness of giving his countrymen a taste of polite pleasure, and shewing the youth how to pass their time agreeably without debauchery," distinguished Lord Charlemont by every kind attention. The Marquis was then far advanced in life, and died soon after. He gave his Lordship a copy of the celebrated tragedy of Merope;* and not only at the literary society which met in the Maffei Palace, but in almost every erudite assembly, in the great towns of Italy, Lord Charlemont held a principal seat. Of some of them he was not only solicited, but even courted to become a member.

Next to Athens, Rome was the object of his travels; he continued there almost two years, and was one of the earliest examples amongst the English, of keeping house for himself, and his friends, whilst in that metropolis. Murphy was of great assistance to him; he not only superintended the whole business of house-keeping, but read, or walked with him a considerable part of the morning. Murphy went out prepared, not only by general, but particular reading, for their almost daily investigation of antiquities; and the Cicerone who attended them, told Lord Charlemont that, where history was to be consulted, he learned as much as his Lordship could, from Murphy. Lord Charlemont went in the evening, like other young men, to concerts, and converzationes. Murphy seldom attended on such occasions; he was engaged with his books, or the company of some quiet, literary friend. But from his long residence at Rome, and unremitted intercourse with Lord Charlemont, he was, at last, much noticed; his learning, his simple manners, his character altogether, procured him real esteem, and it was suggested to him that, if he went abroad, he would be well received; but he would not venture into splendid company.

Lord Charlemont was a kind benefactor to several young artists then at Rome. Sir William Chambers, whose fortune, at that time, was very limited, and his friends, or acquaintance, not many, he particularly distinguished, and was of signal service to him. It is proper, also, to state, that Sir William, to

* See the Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy, by J. Cooper Walker, Esq. Among Lord Charlemont's memorandums from Turin, there is the following. " To send a set of the Grecian and " Egyptian prints, to Marchese Scipione Maffei."

the last, preserved the utmost gratitude and affection towards his Lordship.* He patronised Parker, and two or three painters, whose names I do not distinctly remember. Piranesi he endeavoured to encourage, but that eminent artist was self-willed, and often violent in his temper. He took something amiss of Lord Charlemont, (what, I know not, nor is it now of any consequence;) but, after he had dedicated three or four of his prints to his Lordship, he struck the name out, and inserted that of the two Adams's. Not content with that, he published an abusive letter to Lord Charlemont; some copies were sold, and dispersed, before any one had heard of the quarrel; but several persons in authority at Rome were extremely angry with Piranesi, when they read his pamphlet, and he would have been treated with some severity, had not Lord Charlemont's usual good nature interfered. Piranesi made an apology, the pamphlet was suppressed at Rome, and the belligerent parties were again on amicable terms.

To mention the various persons of rank and estimation at Rome, to whom Lord Charlemont was well known, would be to give the names of the most respectable of the Roman or Neapolitan nobility. Some may be touched on,—Cardinal Albani, Cardinal Passionei, who was librarian of the Vatican,

* The following inscription, to the memory of Sir Wm. Chambers, is in Lord Charlemont's hand writing.—

Sir William Chambers, Knight, &c.
Fellow of the Royal Academy,
And Professor of Architecture.
The best of men, and the first of
English Architects.
Whose buildings, modelled
From his own mind,
Elegant, pure, and solid,
Will long remain the lasting monuments
Of that taste,
Whose chastity could only be equalled
By the immaculate purity of their author's heart.
James, Earl of Charlemont, his friend,
From long experince of his worth and talents,
Dedicates this Inscription
To him and friendship.

an eminently learned man, and, like Lord Charlemont, a great collector of books and manuscripts. He was, also, a politician, and often engaged in affairs of state, as nuncio, or plenipotentiary. Lord Charlemont visited him sometimes at Frescati, where he had a variety of rooms, or cells, as he called them, in which he lodged some of his particular friends, and distinguished them by the name of saints. Those saints were of both sexes, whose rank, and agreeable estimable qualities, not their years, or severity of manners, entitled them to the honor of canonization. Whether Lord Charlemont's name was enrolled in their calendar I cannot say, but he was much valued by his Eminence, who, at that time, was far advanced in life.

It may be almost superfluous to notice, that Lord Charlemont cultivated and enjoyed the friendship of, it may be said, all the English of worth and condition at Rome. He corresponded with several then on their travels in Italy, or different parts of Europe, and their letters to him, (such, at least, as I have seen) breathe, not only affection for, but, indeed, admiration of him. To his honor also it can be recorded, that the friendships, thus early established, never gave way, but survived all the tempests and shocks of political differences, which the best connections are too often exposed to, and become, in consequence, disjoined, or are no more heard of. With some his attachments encountered no such hazard, for the same harmony reigned in their political, as private sentiments. The Lords Cavendish might be adduced as instances of this; and the Marquis of Rockingham was as dear to him at London, in 1782,* as he had been at Rome in 1751.

By one very eminent, and very accomplished man, Lord Charlemont was much noticed whilst in Italy; and, through the course of a long life, most cordially esteemed and regarded. This was the French ambassador at Rome, the Duc de Nivernois. I shall have occasion to mention him more particularly in the progress of these memoirs. Lord Charlemont, at first, considered him merely as an elegant gentleman, and one who carried the fashion, and the *bel air* of Paris, to the utmost extremity. But a nearer connection soon developed in him considerable erudition, a refined taste, soundness of judgment, and, far better than all, an excellent heart. Towards the end of autumn, and the close

* The Marquis died, deeply lamented, in July, 1782.

of 1753, Lord Charlemont was confined at Rome, by a long and very severe indisposition, during which the Duke paid him several visits, and soothed many a weary hour by the amenity and agreeableness of his conversation. That amiable, and, perhaps, that best of all the Pontiffs, Benedict the 14th, may be said to have been the mutual friend of both. With the ambassador his intercourse was necessarily far more frequent than with Lord Charlemont, but, to the latter, he not only paid all the civility and attention that could be expected from an old Pope to a gay, young Lord, but even regarded him, as his knowledge of Lord Charlemont increased, with a kindness and benevolence that was almost parental. On the part of his Lordship, no one could carry every sentiment of respect and gratitude farther than he did to the venerable, good man; and, when the Duc de Choiseul, (who succeeded Monsieur de Nivernois in the embassy at Rome,) under the pretence of asserting some wretched prerogative of his station, behaved, towards the Pope, in a manner peculiarly offensive, no one was more indignant than Lord Charlemont when he heard it. He had not long bid adieu to Rome, at the time the interview, or rather interviews, alluded to took place; and it has been suggested, that this was probably the original cause of his dislike to Monsieur de Choiseul, whose talents he greatly admired, but whose name he could scarcely bear the mention of. Of the virtues, amiableness, and agreeable good sense of Madame de Choiseul, he had indeed the most exalted opinion.

Lord Charlemont, on quitting Rome, re-visited Turin, and continued between that city and Florence from the beginning of March to the end of July, 1754. He visited Spain, but what parts of that kingdom does not appear, except Barcelona, from which place he obtained a passport, to go with his faithful Achates, Murphy, to France. The passport was granted by the Marquis de Las Minas, and contains an enumeration of that nobleman's titles, and places of honour, or trust, almost equal in length to that of the last Duke of Ormonde's, which I venture to mention, as it may now be regarded almost as a curiosity.*

The reader shall not be detained by any account of the amphitheatre, or the *Maison Quarrée*, at Nismes, which Lord Charlemont, of course, visited whilst in

* See Appendix, No. I.

the South of France. Exquisite as his taste was for the noble remains of Roman, and still more, Grecian architecture, he was of the same opinion with that person who said, that a truly eminent man was more an object of refined, and liberal curiosity, than the most renowned edifice. It chanced that, during his residence in that part of France, an opportunity was afforded him of giving this sentiment entire scope. But as he has himself expatiated fully on the subject, the reader, no doubt, will be more pleased to attend to him, than to his Biographer.

" Of all the enjoyments of which the human mind is susceptible, I know of none that is more universally delightful, than the pleasure of travelling; and when we search into the cause of this delight, the gratification of curiosity, that passion with which, for the most salutary purposes, almost every man is plentifully endued, immediately occurs as a motive, fully adequate to account for all our feelings upon this occasion. Yet is there another motive, which, indeed, is known to mix itself in almost all our pursuits, and which, in this also, must, I think, be allowed to have a considerable share. The motive I mean is vanity; the pride of doing what others have not been able to do; of seeing what others have not seen, of being able to relate the perils we have passed, and the wonders we have beheld, contributes not a little to give an edge to our curiosity, and to prompt us to endure every hardship, to dare every danger. If this be true, it must necessarily follow, that every object affords pleasure to a traveller in proportion as he esteems it adapted to procure him the delight of future narration, and the respect of those to whom he shall narrate; and surely there is nothing in the power of travel to procure us, which more eminently conduces to this desired purpose, than the acquaintance of such men as are renowned for their virtue, and for their abilities. As the productions of the Divinity must infinitely transcend all the works of human skill, surely a great and virtuous man, the noblest work of God, must ever be the first object of curiosity; and an intimate acquaintance with such a man must more essentially flatter our pride, than all the other wonders which travelling can afford. Whether all travellers think in this matter as I do, I cannot tell, but this I know, that my vanity is infinitely less flattered by my having viewed the pyramids of Egypt, than by my having had the honor of an intimacy with president Montesquieu;—and for this reason, as well as because every anecdote which relates to a person of his eminence is

always acceptable, I shall recount the manner in which I became acquainted with him, and whatever circumstances, be they ever so trivial, I can recollect concerning him, during the time of our acquaintance.

" In travelling through France I happened, luckily for me, to get acquainted with Mr. Elliott,* a gentleman of Cornwall, whose excellent understanding, cultivated and improved by the best education, and animated by a mind of the most pleasing cast, rendered him the most agreeable of companions. We travelled together for some time, and finding ourselves not very far from Bourdeaux, we determined not to miss the opportunity of going there, not so much prompted thereto by the beauty of the town, and the adjacent country, as by our ardent desire of seeing, and of knowing, the president Montesquieu. Arrived at Bourdeaux, our first enquiry was concerning the principal object of our journey; but how great was our disappointment, when we found that he had left the city, and was gone to reside at a country seat, four or five hours distant. To leave our longing unsatisfied was truly mortifying to us; and yet what could be done? At length, after a long deliberation, we determined to strike a bold stroke; and, getting the better of all timidity, perhaps propriety, we sat down and wrote a joint letter, in which we candidly told the president our reasons for visiting Bourdeaux, our sad disappointment, our eager wishes for the honor of his acquaintance; which, as English subjects, we most particularly desired; concluding by begging pardon for our presumption, and leave to wait on him at his villa. Neither did we languish long for an answer; it quickly arrived, in every respect as we would have wished, and consisted of modest acknowledgments for the honor we did him, assertions of the high esteem in which he held our country, and the most hearty, and pressing invitation to come to him as soon as our occasions would permit. The first appointment with a favourite mistress could not have rendered our night more restless; and the next morning we set out so early that we arrived at his villa before he was risen. The servant shewed us into his library, where the first object of curiosity that presented itself was a table, at which he had apparently been reading the night before, a book lying upon it open, turned down, and a lamp extinguished. Eager to know the nocturnal studies of this great philosopher, we immediately flew to

* Edward, afterwards Lord Elliott.

the book; it was a volume of Ovid's works, containing his elegies, and open at one of the most gallant poems of that master of love. Before we could overcome our surprize, it was greatly increased by the entrance of the president, whose appearance and manner was totally opposite to the idea which we had formed to ourselves of him; instead of a grave, austere philosopher, whose presence might strike with awe such boys as we were, the person who now addressed us, was a gay, polite, sprightly Frenchman; who, after a thousand genteel compliments, and a thousand thanks for the honor we had done him, desired to know whether we would not breakfast, and, upon our declining the offer, having already eaten at an inn not far from the house, 'Come then,' says he, 'let us walk; the day is fine, and I long to shew you my villa, as I have endeavoured to form it according to the English taste, and to cultivate and dress it in the English manner.' Following him into the farm, we soon arrived at the skirts of a beautiful wood, cut into walks, and paled round, the entrance to which was barricadoed with a moveable bar, about three feet high, fastened with a padlock. 'Come,' said he, searching in his pocket, 'it is not worth our while to wait for the key; you, I am sure, can leap as well as I can, and this bar shall not stop me.' So saying, he ran at the bar, and fairly jumped over it, while we followed him with amazement, though not without delight, to see the philosopher likely to become our playfellow. This behaviour had exactly the effect which he meant it should have. He had observed our awkward timidity at his first accosting us, and was determined to rid us of it: all that awe with which, notwithstanding his appearance, his character had inspired us, and that consequent bashfulness which it must have occasioned, was now taken off; his age and awful character disappeared; and our conversation was just as free and as easy as if we had been his equals in years, as in every other respectable qualification. Our discourse now turned on matters of taste and learning. He asked us the extent of our travels, and, as I had visited the Levant, he fixed himself particularly on me, and enquired into several circumstances relative to the countries where I had been, in many of which I had the good fortune to satisfy him. He lamented his own fate, which had prevented his seeing those curious regions, and descanted with great ability on the advantages and pleasures of travel. 'However,' said he, I, too, have been a traveller, and have seen the country in the world which is most worthy our curiosity—I mean England.' He then gave us an account of

his abode there, the many civilities he had received, and the delight he felt in thinking of the time he had spent there. 'However,' continued he, 'though there is no country under Heaven which produces so many great and shining characters as England, it must be confessed, that it also produces many singular ones, which renders it the more worthy our curiosity, and, indeed, the more entertaining. You are, I suppose, too young to have known the Duke of Montagu:* that was one of the most extraordinary characters I ever met with; endowed with the most excellent sense, his singularity knew no bounds. Only think! at my first acquaintance with him, having invited me to his country seat, before I had leisure to get into any sort of intimacy, he practised on me that whimsical trick which, undoubtedly, you have either experienced, or heard of; under the idea of playing the play of an introduction of ambassadors, he soused me over head and ears into a tub of cold water. I thought it odd, to be sure, but a traveller, as you well know, must take the world as it goes, and, indeed, his great goodness to me, and his incomparable understanding, far over-paid me for all the inconveniences of my ducking. Liberty, however, is the glorious cause! that it is, which gives human nature fair play, and allows every singularity to show itself, and which, for one less agreeable oddity it may bring to light, gives to the world ten thousand great, and useful examples.'

"With this, and a great deal more conversation, every word of which I would wish to remember, we finished our walk, and having viewed every part of the villa, which was, as he had told us, altogether imitated from the English style of gardening, we returned to the house, were shewn into the drawing room, and were most politely received by Madame la Baronne, and her daughter. Madame de Montesquieu was an heiress of the reformed religion, which she still continued to profess. She was an elderly woman, and, apparently, had never been handsome. Mademoiselle was a sprightly, affable, good-humoured girl, rather plain, but, at the same time, pleasing; these, with the president's secretary, whom we afterwards found to be an Irishman, formed our society. The secretary spoke nothing but French, and had it been possible that Elliot

* John, Duke of Montagu, married to one of the daughters of the Duke of Marlborough. From every account, his Grace was just as Montesquieu has represented him; but his eccentricity was, in this instance, carried very far indeed.

and I, in our private conversation, could have uttered any thing to the disadvantage of our hosts, we might have been disagreeably trapped by our ignorance of his country, but nothing of that kind could possibly happen; every thing we said was to the praise of the president, and the politeness shewn us by his family. Our dinner was plain, and plentiful; and when, after having dined, we made an offer to depart, the president insisted upon our stay; nor did he suffer us to leave him for three days, during which time his conversation was as sprightly, as instructive, and as entertaining as possible. At length we took our leave, and returned to Bourdeaux, whither we were escorted by the secretary; who now, to our great surprize, spoke English, and declared himself my countryman.

"The Baron, though still styled president, had lately resigned that office on the following occasion: The intendant of the province, a man whose ideas were far more magnificent than merciful, had taken it into his head that he would make Bourdeaux the finest city in France, and, for that purpose, had caused to be delineated on paper, the plan of a new quarter, where the streets were laid out in the most sumptuous manner, of a great breadth, and in lines directly strait. This plan, with the approbation of the court, he had now began to execute, and that without the least consideration that the streets which he was laying out, not only cut through gardens, vineyards, and the houses of citizens and gentlemen, which, if they happened to stand in the way, were instantly levelled with the ground; and that without any determined indemnification to the owner. The president saw this tyranny, detested, and resisted it; and, by his influence and authority, for a while suspended the execution. Both parties appealed to Versailles, where the affair was examined into, and where the good president made use of all his influence in behalf of his countrymen, he himself not being in the smallest degree interested. But the intendant prevailed; and orders were issued that, at all events, the plan should be pursued. The president, justly discontented, obtained leave to part with his office, and Bourdeaux is now the most magnificent city in France, built on the ruin of hundreds. Consider this, ye degenerate Englishmen, who talk without abhorrence of arbitrary power!

"Having remained at Bourdeaux a competent time, Elliot and I parted, and I set out for Paris, where I was no sooner arrived than Monsieur de Montesquieu,

who had been there some days before me, most kindly came to see me, and, during the time of my abode in that metropolis, we saw each other frequently, and every interview increased my esteem and affection for him.

"I have frequently met him in company with ladies, and have been as often astonished at the politeness, the gallantry, and sprightliness of his behaviour. In a word, the most accomplished, the most refined *petit-mâitre* of Paris, could not have been more amusing, from the liveliness of his chat, nor could have been more inexhaustible in that sort of discourse which is best suited to women, than this venerable philosopher of seventy years old. But at this we shall not be surprized, when we reflect, that the profound author of L'Esprit des Loix, was also author of the Persian Letters, and of the truly gallant Temple de Gnide.

"He had, however, to a great degree, though not among women, one quality which is not uncommon with abstracted men, I mean absence of mind. I remember dining in company with him at our ambassador's, Lord Albemarle, where, during the time of dinner, being engaged in a warm dispute, he gave away to the servant, who stood behind him, seven clean plates, supposing that he had used them all. But this was only in the heat of controversy, and when he was actuated by that lively and impetuous earnestness, to which, though it never carried him beyond the bounds of good breeding, he was as liable as any man I ever knew. At all other times he was perfectly collected, nor did he ever seem to think of any thing out of the scope of the present conversation.

"In the course of our conversations, Ireland, and its interests, have often been the topic; and, upon these occasions, I have always found him an advocate for an Union between that country and England. 'Were I an Irishman,' said he, 'I should certainly wish for it; and, as a general lover of liberty, I sincerely desire it; and for this plain reason, that an inferior country, connected with one much her superior in force, can never be certain of the permanent enjoyment of constitutional freedom, unless she has, by her representatives, a proportional share in the legislature of the superior kingdom.'

"A few days before I left Paris to return home, this great man fell sick, and, though I did not imagine, from the nature of his complaint, that it was likely to be fatal, I quitted him, however, with the utmost regret, and with that sort

of foreboding which sometimes precedes misfortunes. Scarcely was I arrived in England, when I received a letter, from one whom I had desired to send me the most particular accounts of him, communicating to me the melancholy news of his death, and assuring me, what I never doubted, that he had died as he lived, like a real philosopher; and what is more, with true christian resignation. What his real sentiments, with regard to religion, were, I cannot exactly say. He certainly was not a papist; but I have no reason to believe that he was not a christian: in all our conversations, which were perfectly free, I never heard him utter the slightest hint, the least word, which savoured of profaneness; but, on the contrary, whenever it came in his way to mention christianity, he always spoke of its doctrine and of its precepts with the utmost respect and reverence; so that, did I not know that he had too much wisdom and goodness to wish to depreciate the ruling religion, from his general manner of expressing himself, I should make no scruple freely to declare him a perfect christian. At his death the priests, as usual, tormented him, and he bore their exhortations with the greatest patience, good humour, and decency; till at length fatigued, by their obstinate and tiresome pertinacity, he told them that he was much obliged for their comfort, but that, having now a very short time to live, he wished to have those few minutes to himself, as he had lived long enough to know how to die. A day or two before his death an unlucky circumstance happened, by which the world has sustained an irreparable loss. He had written the history of Louis the eleventh, including the transactions of Europe during the very important, and interesting period of that prince's reign. The work was long and laborious, and some, who had seen parts of it, have assured me, that it was superior even to his other writings. Recollecting that he had two manuscripts of it, one of them perfect, and the other extremely mutilated, and fearing that this imperfect copy might fall into the hands of some ignorant and avaricious bookseller, he gave his valet de chambre the key of his escrutoir, and desired him to burn that manuscript which he described to him. The unlucky valet burned the fair copy, and left that from which it was impossible to print.

There is nothing more uncommon than to see, in the same man, the most ardent glow of genius, the utmost liveliness of fancy, united with the highest degree of assiduity and of laboriousness. The powers of the mind seem in this to resemble those of the body. The nice and ingenious hand of the

oculist was never made to heave the sledge, or to till the ground. In Montesquieu, however, both these talents were eminently conspicuous. No man ever possessed a more lively, a more fanciful genius. No man was ever more laborious. His Esprit des Loix is, perhaps, the result of more reading than any treatise ever yet composed. M. de Secondat, son to the president, has now in his possession forty folio volumes in his father's hand writing, which are nothing more than the common-place books, from whence this admirable work was extracted. Montesquieu, indeed, seems to have possessed the difficult art of contracting matter into a small compass, without rendering it obscure, more perfectly than any man who ever wrote. His Grandeur et Decadence des Romains is a rare instance of this talent ; a book in which there is more matter than was ever before crammed together in so small a space. One circumstance with regard to this last mentioned treatise has often struck me, as a sort of criterion by which to judge of the materialness of a book. The index contains nearly as many pages as the work itself."

Whilst Lord Charlemont continued at Paris, he frequented Lord Albemarle's, and many of the houses of the principal French nobility. Monsieur de Nivernois renewed the acquaintance which his lordship had so happily formed with him at Rome, and presented him not only to his father, the Duc de Nevers, a most pleasing, venerable old nobleman, but to several of the French academicians, and men of letters,—St. Palaye, Helvetius, the marquis de Mirabeau,* and others. At count d'Argenson's, but more particularly the duc de Biron's, (afterwards marshal,) he met a great variety of characters, French and English. It should be mentioned, that at Lord Albemarle's he first saw the Count Poniatowski, with whose manners he was fascinated. Happy it had been for that amiable young man, if he had continued at Paris, or, at least, never re-visited Poland, whose throne, tottering as it was, he rendered more unstable, and at last overset, by his own imbecility, and piteous submission to the malign connection which raised, and ruined him. Lord Charlemont's acquaintance, in short, was very general ; but his residence, at that time, in the French metropolis, was of no long continuance. He hastened on to London,

* Father of the late count de Mirabeau, so distinguished in our days. The marquis was also a man of talents, but very singular. He wrote "L'ami des Hommes," and other things. The œconomists regarded him as an oracle.

where he had then such a number of friends; and after some stay there, proceeded to Ireland, which he was most anxious to re-visit.

We must now bid adieu to the continent, and view Lord Charlemont in a situation totally different from that in which we have hitherto been accustomed to regard him. The general statement of his conduct henceforward, will, I trust, be his best panegyric. But to appreciate that conduct justly, a very slight sketch of Irish politics, for some years antecedent to his return to Ireland, may be in some measure necessary.

Circumscribed, depressed, and insignificant as Ireland was towards the middle of the reign of George the first, it began even then, though languidly, to raise its head. Wood's patent, apparently so inconsequential at first, but which, from some circumstances that accompanied it, very nearly overset the administration of lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole, excited a flame which, though fiercest in the metropolis, began to extend itself over Ireland. So alarmed was Primate Boulter at its progress, that he declares, in one of his dispatches, the general dislike to Wood's half pence would have a most unhappy effect on the nation by *uniting it ! !* by (to make use of his own words) bringing on intimacies between papists and jacobites, and the whigs, who before had no *intimacy* with them. Such are sinister and crooked politics, and such their effect on the mind of a reverend prelate, in other respects a most humane and charitable man, that he dreaded nothing so much as that Irishmen should lay aside their fierce animosities, and, no matter what the christian religion prescribes, love one another, because it might be fatal to the English interest! But to proceed. Exaggerated as the Commons' representation was, of the loss which the nation would sustain by the patent; and mistated as Wood's coinage was by Swift, and proved to be so by Sir Isaac Newton, the discussion which it produced in the cabinet, the castle, and in both Houses of Parliament, kept alive the public mind, which, two or three years before, had been partially awakened by the removal of the final jurisdiction, in matters of property, from the Lords of Ireland, to those of Great Britain; when to this was added, during Lord Carteret's administration, the strange effort to continue the supplies for twenty-one years, (defeated only by one voice,*) that portion of

* Colonel Tottenham's ;—he deserves to be recorded; a very trifling circumstance marks the exactness, and gravity of dress, at that time insisted on in the House of Commons. He was called

the people, which, in truth, could then alone act in politics, was still more agitated. Such legislative proceedings furnished abundant matter to the informed and contemplative; whilst the energetic sound sense, and illustrative familiar wit of the Drapier's Letters, delighted, interested, and animated the whole kingdom. A mass of political intelligence, political zeal, and indisposition to the domination of the English legislature was thus tacitly, though tardily formed, and it only required entire national aid to give it that motion which, in some years, might be formidable. Limited, however, as it was, it was not inoperative; and Walpole, by timely concessions, such as the surrender of Wood's patent, and the recall, or discountenance of arbitrary Viceroys, and their advisers, kept Ireland, during his time, in tranquillity. There was discontent often; disturbance never. It required, however, his superior good sense, conciliating wisdom, and the result of that wisdom, his pacific system, to effect what he did, and it is a plain proof that he well knew, and duly estimated, the understanding and spirit of those on whose regards Ireland, at that time, rested. It also proves this: that the English character had undergone no change in Ireland. Those of our sister country who settled here, were no way dissimilar from those whom they left behind them; they liked dominion, but they also liked liberty; too much, indeed, did they wish, at certain periods, at least, to confine liberty to themselves. But though property may be monopolized, freedom, after some time has passed away, never can. The acquired knowledge that elevates one man, will soon illuminate, and animate his neighbour; to circumscribe such knowledge is, God be praised, beyond our power, and all authority that does not rest on that basis, must eventually cease to exist. But to the pride of domination, mingled with the spirit of liberty, our English ancestors here added, also, perpetual anxiety for their newly-acquired possessions. Hence arose the penal code against the catholics, which, in truth, the history of the human heart, alone, can easily account for the origin of. No sooner was that code firmly established, than its framers turned their thoughts towards securing some liberty for themselves, and all their annals, and the annals of their successors, till the American war gave the Irish

*Tottenham in his boots*; because, having just come to town, and hearing of the important question then under discussion, he hurried down to the House without giving himself time to take his boots off. The members stared, and the older ones, as I have been well assured, muttered sadly, and loudly, at this crying innovation, as they termed it. What would they say now, 1808?

tongue utterance, exhibit nothing but indistinct murmurs in favour of liberty, and the awkward dread of such murmuring, giving offence to that nation which alone could extend their privileges, and guarantee their property.

But matters could not remain very long in this situation. It is recorded of Agricola, that his principal object in meditating the subjugation of Ireland, was to present one uniform dread display of Roman domination to the humiliated Britons, and banish even the appearance of liberty from their sight. But when, in the course of revolving ages, the reverse of this was exhibited, and the aspect of British freedom was perpetually contemplated by Ireland, it demanded no prophetic powers to state, that the Irish would echo, however faintly in their first essays, that voice of rational liberty which awakened their neighbours, on the other side of the channel, to cheerful industry, and harmonized tranquillity. They did so, and if aspiring statesmen led the way, from ambiguous sometimes, and sometimes prouder motives, such statesmen knew that the notes thus raised by them would be prolonged, not by a blind and ductile people, as impertinent servility always insinuates, but a discriminating community. The question, which either their parliamentary dexterity might find out, or ministerial imbecility throw in their way, would, they were well aware, if abstractedly right, be not the less sedulously maintained without the doors of the House of Commons, because its principal supporters within were suspected, or even known to be interested, or ambitious men. Admitting that all Hume's cold-blooded doubts of the purity of Hampden's motives in opposing ship-money, were but too well founded, that imposition was not the less formidable to the liberties of England.

Freedom must be sustained by public principle, but, in controlling the march of despotism, a temporary, or even ambiguous auxiliary, cannot always with entire convenience be rejected. Such is human nature.

The contest between Primate Stone, and Mr. Boyle,* was merely for power; but in that contest Stone sought the aid of the crown, and Boyle, who was a Whig, sought the aid of the people. It involved a question of vital magnitude to the prosperity of this country; for, in these kingdoms, without consti-

* Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, afterwards Earl of Shannon.

tutional liberty, where is prosperity to be found; or, if found, how long can it exist? The question regarded the right of the Commons to superintend and control the expenditure of the public money. From the augmented resources of the country, there was a surplus in the treasury, of somewhat more than £200,000, the free gift of the people through their representatives. If the public exigency, the sole object of all such gifts, was more than answered, I confess I know not what worse precedent could be established, than that which would allow the executive power, (a trustee merely) to dispose of the overplus, as that power, or in other words, ministers, thought proper. They would take care that, if possible, there should always be a redundancy. Neither the king's letter, which, in taking the money notwithstanding the contest, was arbitrary, though applied to the reduction of the public debt, nor the disposal of any revenue in subsequent sessions by the Commons, in jobs, (grossly exaggerated, however, by some writers) have any thing to do with the principle of this celebrated question. It communicated life and heat to the House of Commons of Ireland;—so rapid was the importance which it gave to that assembly, that a Borough sold, in 1754,* for three times as much as was given in 1750. Supposing the speculation a corrupt one, it proves the rising consequence of the popular branch of the legislature, when such a speculation could be made at all. More money was also expended in county elections. Whoever looks into Davenant's Political Tracts will find something similar to this springing up directly after the Revolution. There was much private corruption, but there was, also, a lofty public principle, and liberty altogether predominant and progressive.

Thus matters stood in Ireland, when Lord Charlemont returned there.

* Private letters.

## 1755.

WE must now turn our eyes almost entirely to England, or to Ireland. After a long absence of eleven years, Lord Charlemont returned to his native country. The period at which he arrived here was, if not so interesting as the two preceding years, still peculiarly critical, and sufficient to engage all the attention of a young nobleman like him, who, though enamoured of the fine arts, and enjoying the society of those on the Continent, and in England, whose taste and habitudes were congenial to his own, still never lost sight of Ireland, or his duty to his country. Whilst abroad, amidst the gaieties of youth, and all the fashion of that day, his character was, in some measure, already established here. It is certain, that he was very generally talked of, and splendid hopes were entertained of his being one day an ornament to Ireland. Lord Chancellor Jocelyn, a grave and excellent magistrate,* whose panegyric was never idly bestowed, spoke of him, on all occasions, as a young person of whom he entertained the best expectations. He had seen several of Lord Charlemont's letters, as well as the letters of many persons which related to him. Other distinguished personages held the same language. These were testimonies of real value, and required no slight exertion of acquirements, just propriety, and, in some measure, brilliancy of conduct, to support. Nor were the Muses silent on this occasion. Many congratulatory verses were addressed to him, by those who cultivated literature, and poetry, who

* Private letters.

seemed rather to indulge the effusions of their own sensibility, or re-echo what was said by others, than to scatter any venal incense before him. I could produce some specimens of such poetic offerings, not inaptly delineating his character, and in point of composition far above mediocrity. With Irish poets, or artists, he had then little or no acquaintance; for, most singular is it, that he, whose residence was afterwards more fixed in Dublin, or near it, than that of almost any nobleman in this country, and whose society was so cultivated, not only by the members of both Houses, but such a variety of persons in Ireland, should, for many years, feel himself almost a stranger to it. He often said, that his residing principally in Ireland, when he returned from Italy, was no small effort of patriotism; for, in no part of Europe had he so few acquaintances, or friends: and it may with truth be added, that in no part of Europe was an assembly of nobles, at that period, of so little consequence in their senatorial capacity. His particular friend, Lord Powerscourt, resided, at that time, more in England, or France, than Ireland; and the only person with whom he lived in habits of strict intimacy, on his return to this kingdom, was Mr. Richard Marlay, who has been already mentioned. But he, as his Lordship observed, was worth a million. All his other connections, Lord Powerscourt's excepted, and Mr. Pierpont Burton's, were confined to Englishmen, Irish gentlemen who spent their time chiefly in England, or foreigners; but with the latter his friendships were not many. Few persons who read these memoirs, are, I presume, totally unacquainted with the famous political contests which so agitated this kingdom in 1753. The particular question which became the trial of strength between the belligerent powers, Primate Stone, and Mr. Boyle, afterwards Lord Shannon, was decided in favour of the latter. The professions, or declarations of both, were, in truth, Re inania, aut subdola. For, after all the tempests which shook Ireland to its centre, the King's letter drew at once all the money out of the treasury; and the Chiefs, from whom all the ferment rose, acted the same deceptive scenes which have been so often played in politics. Yet, firm and authoritative as the English ministers were in their rapid disposal of this contested public money, it is certain, that they were extremely alarmed, and some of them, at least, entered deeply into this self-interested quarrel. The Duke of New-

castle particularly, who, wherever he had an opportunity, was most particularly sedulous in procuring some partisans; and, as appears from authority that deserves respect, through channels the most circuitous and unexpected. Much, perhaps the most important part, of the political transactions of that day, is now well known; but no inconsiderable portion of the same period still remains a secret; and could it be fairly written, a most singular political history might be given to the public. In composing these differences, however, the English cabinet acted a wise and moderate part. There were not wanting then, as since, politicians of firmness, as they are called by the grosser and servile part of mankind; but men, in fact, of a mischievous levity, or a stupid and sanguinary spirit. Nothing can be more salutary, or becoming, than proper resolution, at proper seasons; but the true statesman knows when to advance with a determined step, and when to recede with consistency and dignity. Several adherents of Mr. Boyle had been dismissed from their situations; but the English cabinet stopt itself in mid career. The members of that cabinet saw the difficulties with which they were surrounded; and, though perfectly convinced of the obliquity of many who opposed, they dreaded the too great success of those who combated even on their own side. Primate Stone was made use of in supporting what was fatally termed the English interest; but his intriguing and aspiring temper gave much umbrage, and cause of suspicion, to those who co-operated with him. It was in contemplation to give him an admonitory hint, that his presence, and even continued residence at his diocese, would be more agreeable to a superior personage;—other councils, however, again prevailed, and it was again suggested, that his enjoyment of a plenitude of power would be the best security of English power in Ireland. But an Ecclesiastic, invested with all the authority of the state, could not be agreeable to a Whig monarch, or a Whig administration. Mr. Boyle had given much offence to ministers, but they felt and acknowledged the superiority of his understanding. He was a Whig, allied to some of the first families of that connection; and though, on some occasions, and in a recent transaction, (the Dublin election) particularly, he had overstepped the limits of moderation, such flights were not common on his part, and it was

with truth believed, that in those instances he yielded to others, and felt his error, though too late. His peculiar sphere was the House of Commons, not as an orator, but director. The management of contested elections, he took almost entirely to himself, and with such a high and firm hand, that few country gentlemen would continue a canvass, in their particular counties, without a certainty of Mr. Boyle's support, if petitioned against. He was a warm, sincere friend, and undisguised enemy; so that he was for many years relied on by ministers; for those of the most sound and comprehensive intellect preferred him to Stone, and thought that Ireland would be far safer in his hands, and give them less molestation, than in those of the Primate. To these considerations was added another, which, as it affected Ireland, had, perhaps, for the first time, its due weight with an English cabinet. The question with regard to the surplus, though brought forward by interested men, was, taken in the abstract, a question of much importance, and peculiarly interwoven with the privileges of the House of Commons. It made no small impression in St. Stephen's chapel, and ministers were not without apprehensions, that some members of the old Tory interest, as it was then called, would, in some shape or other, bring forward the question in the British House of Commons. That they would have been defeated by a triumphant majority, there can be no doubt; but such a victory, on such a question, could be no subject of congratulation to wise ministers. To lull the public mind to rest on such points, not to awaken it beyond, perhaps, the possibility of composure, was the object of their just deliberations. The right of the English Parliament to tax Ireland was then, and long after, most strenuously maintained; but to exercise that right was most wisely avoided. Even during the Tory administration of Queen Anne, when the English cabinet was defeated by the Whig interest in this kingdom, the ministers, though incensed by the opposition which they met here, and willing enough to embark in perilous and unconstitutional adventures, seemed to have shrunk from the encouragement of any such project as that of wresting the right of taxation in Ireland from the representation of Ireland. Indeed, Lord Bolingbroke, in one of his letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury, talks ambiguously, and darkly, of what might be done by the English cabinet, if further opposed in the Irish House of Commons. Yet, in another of his

letters to the same nobleman, he positively disclaims all intention of exercising any right of taxation in Ireland. The question of 1753, though it did not in any shape directly touch the privilege of taxation, was still a question that regarded the public money, and public privileges. It was not sufficient for English ministers to avoid a discussion, which even their obnoxious predecessor, Bolingbroke, retired from, but to go further, and by a benign and healing policy, to close at once this dangerous and invidious question, and bring back their old coadjutors in Ireland, to the old ministerial standard. Under the influence of such sentiments, they determined to send over a nobleman, who, from the hereditary veneration attached to his name, from the love which the people of Ireland bore to his excellent father, who had preceded him not many years in the lieutenancy, his family connections with the Whig leaders in Ireland, and, above all, his own probity, candour, and sweetness of disposition, was most likely to compose all parties, and reconcile all differences. This was the Marquis of Hartington, son of the Duke of Devonshire. Private friendship had some share, also, in his promotion; for Mr. Fox, then in strict terms of intimacy with Lord Hartington, principally induced his Lordship to come over to Ireland, and evinced his usual good sense by such a selection. Mr. Pitt, indeed, seemed dissatisfied at the appointment, as it displayed his rival's preponderancy in the cabinet at such a critical and interesting juncture.——The Viceroy came. Smiles and good humour resumed their influence in the drawing room and levee, accompanied with what is not always to be found there, good faith and sincerity. That the two great political opponents should be in some measure brought together, and obliged to coalesce, was absolutely necessary, otherwise Lord Hartington's mission was fruitless.

Lord Charlemont, though then as it were a stranger to Ireland, not much experienced in the ways of men, and certainly not at all in those of old intriguing statesmen, undertook, with the approbation of the Lord Lieutenant, to be the mediator between them. Notwithstanding his youth and inexperience, he carried his point. He reconciled them, and the wheels of government moved on as before. That Mr. Boyle should admit him as a negotiator, can be easily accounted for; he was his relation; and, what was of far more

consequence in Mr. Boyle's eyes, than all the ties of consanguinity, though himself a good-natured kinsman, Lord Charlemont had even then expended no small sums of money in his political cousin's cause. Whilst absent from Ireland, his brother, Mr. Caulfield, was set up by a gentleman connected with his Lordship, as candidate for the county of Armagh, avowedly in Mr. Boyle's interest. That election alone cost Lord Charlemont £7,000. In the present day such an expenditure may be laugned at, but it was then regarded as extremely prodigal. As to the Primate, Lord Charlemont was acceptable to him from his manners, his accomplishments, and the accounts which he had received of him from his Grace's friends in England. He was, indeed, under no obligation to his Lordship, as Mr. Boyle was, but he hoped to render Lord Charlemont under obligations to *him*, and trusted to his own knowledge in the arts of deception, to captivate a young nobleman, or, in other words, to outwit him, as he did others, whenever an opportunity offered. His Grace's blandishments, however, did not succeed. Lord Charlemont never became tributary to him, or his rivals, though his interposition had united them as firmly as politicians usually are. He saw through them both; but he was anxious that the tranquillity of Ireland should be restored, and that both Chieftains should join in every aid to the Lord Lieutenant, whose sole object was the public utility. By raising the power of the Viceroy, he hoped to depress theirs, or circumscribe it within a proper and beneficial channel.

In the restoration of harmony to the castle, to the House of Commons, and to Ireland, Lord Charlemont had accomplished the ends of his negotiation; but another negotiation was clandestinely pursued, and effected, without the least knowledge of it on his part. The articles of the negotiation were, that the Primate should have his due share of power, though not at that time, yet at no distant period; and that Mr. Boyle should be raised to the rank of Earl, with a pension of £3,000 per annum, for thirty-one years. "And this," says Lord Charlemont,* "was the first instance that occurred to me among many thousands to which I was afterwards witness, that the mask of patriotism is often assumed to disguise self-interest and ambition, and that the paths of violent opposition are too frequently trod, as the nearest and surest road to

* Private letters.

office and emolument." His Lordship justly adds, "these frequent apostacies have been used by the corrupt as an inexhaustible source of ridicule, and even of argument, against true patriotism; the same species of false wit and false reasoning has been repeatedly urged against religion itself. But such flimsy prattle does not merit a serious confutation. As well might we say, that because there are many hypocrites, men ought not to be moral or religious."—It may not be unnecessary to remark here, that this question, however originating from motives not justifiable, first called forth the Irish mind, if I may be allowed the phrase, from that stagnant, torpid state, in which it had for so many years lain buried. The genius of one man had, indeed, excited such a ferment in the reign of George the First, as required all the sound sense, and superior wisdom of Walpole to allay. But though the Drapier's Letters were the vigorous offspring of an exasperated, but most energetic mind, and their influence embraced every part of Ireland, still that influence predominated more in the city of Dublin than elsewhere; and the grievance which they combated seemed to be regarded in some measure as a municipal one, or more to be dreaded by the metropolis than any other portion of the kingdom. Wood's halfpence were, in truth, not so formidable as Swift thought proper to represent them; but the demolition of that man's patent, or any usurpation far more terrific, was not half so salutary to the commonweal as the eternal lesson which those letters read to princes and statesmen; that, although a country may be kept in thraldom, as Ireland then certainly was, and the powers of its senate circumscribed, the prerogatives of the people can be largely sustained by the writings of an individual, if that individual is supported, as Swift was, by the liberal spirit of the people. But liberty is one thing, faction another. Let, then, the people maintain their just rights, and proscribe sedition. But the question of 1753 did not rest on the efforts of any pen, however excellent; it was discussed in full Parliament, with every aid which talents, or knowledge, no matter whether generously, or invidiously exerted, could afford it. The fire which was then kindled did not, indeed, partake of vestal purity, but it has borrowed, I trust, somewhat of vestal permanence. For, unquestionably, from that hour, the people regarded political questions more

deeply; and as they respected themselves, by gradually adding to their knowledge, they were of course more attended to, and respected by their rulers. The rejection of the bill for appropriating the surplus, did not escape the sagacity of that singular, and surely very able man, Bubb Dodington. "A measure," says he, "productive of more mischiefs than I shall live to see remedied." When Lord Melcombe wrote that sentence, he saw the future in the instant; he beheld the temper of the Irish people rising into more dignified action, and their subsequent contests for national freedom crowded on his mind. He beheld the door for that freedom opened by the political obliquity of their rulers. They opened, certainly; but to shut, exceeded their power. Lord Melcombe, indeed, makes use of the word *mischiefs*, for Lord Melcombe was a consummate courtier; and there are many who, with him, will adopt the word; for all contests with power, be they what they may, are regarded by some persons as mischiefs. But sense and spirit will discriminate.

Lord Charlemont was well acquainted with the Marquis of Hartington, and still more with his brothers, especially the late excellent Lord, John Cavendish, whom he had long known when abroad. He renewed his friendship with him here, for the Marquis was accompanied by his brothers to Ireland. With them, as well as General, afterwards Marshal Conway, who was Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Charlemont lived in terms of perfect intimacy; so that, according to his own account, "the outset of his politics gave room to suppose that his life would have been much more courtly than it afterwards proved to be." From this intimacy, founded on a general congeniality of sentiments, and the promptitude and success of his negotiation with Lord Shannon (Mr. Boyle), and the Primate, his interest at the Castle was not inconsiderable; perhaps more substantial, had he exerted it, than at any subsequent period of his life. But it lay dormant in his hands. He solicited nothing for himself or his connections. His brother had chosen a military life, and the Lord Lieutenant, without the intervention, or any request whatever, of Lord Charlemont, presented him with a cornetcy;—the only favour, to which any stipend was annexed, which his Lordship received from government, in the course of a long life. The administration of Lord Hartington he considered as perfectly benign, and well disposed to Ireland. But truly, and even fervently, attached as he was to the Viceroy, and the House of Cavendish in general; as a public man he preserved his indepen-

dence sacred and untouched. When he thought that administration was wrong, he considered it his duty, however reluctantly, to oppose it. But opposition in the Lords, feeble at any time during this period of Irish affairs, was as nothing during Lord Hartington's administration. A small band presented itself in the House of Commons, of which, it is said, Primate Stone was the leader; sometimes open, sometimes occult, as he chanced to verge more or less towards a restoration of power. As in the division of the spoil on a ministerial revolution, many worthless persons, or such as over-rate their services, will be disregarded, some gentlemen, who had gone every length with former administrations, and *only* joined Mr. Boyle, when they augured more favourably of his ascendancy than the Primate's, immediately joined the latter, when they found that Lord Shannon's advancement availed them nothing, and endeavoured to embroil administration, by bringing forward questions, which they themselves had uniformly discountenanced. But the majority of the House did not act from venal motives, when they laid aside some popular motions. They thought it best to discourage any new political combination of parties, whatever specious and decorated banners they might advance with; and thought themselves justified in postponing, not finally rejecting, measures, some of which had been only adopted in England, after long deliberation, whilst others of a similar tendency had not been acquiesced in there, without any diminution either of public liberty, or the ancient and just reverence due to Parliament. Such were the preponderating sentiments of the leaders of the Irish House of Commons, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hartington.

The conduct of the leaders in 1753 made a deep impression on Lord Charlemont's mind; and, from the moment of his interviews with the Primate, and Lord Shannon, he most wisely resolved to be a Freeman, in the purest sense of the word. He had firmness enough to adhere to his resolution; for, though he opposed the court, he also opposed the people, whenever he perceived them adopting erroneous or mischievous opinions. But the bias of his mind was strongly in favour of the popular sentiment. And that this early predilection might, at some casual moments, have led him into error, though certainly not of any moment, cannot be denied: but it was a generous and patriotic feeling, untinctured with any sordidness whatever. He conceived, contrary to the opinions of many statesmen, that a liberal opposition was more necessary here

than in England. The imbecility, the general depression of the kingdom, the neglect of ministers at some periods, their contempt of the country at all times—contempt not confined to them, but then diffused through every class of society in England—made it more particularly incumbent, as he thought, for some persons here to display a vigilance in favour of Ireland, as patriotic as unsubdued. When to these considerations we add the prejudices, passions, and grovelling selfishness of the commercial and manufacturing interests, more deadly to our prosperity than any English cabinet, as ministers were only controlled by such interests, when they wished to be liberal towards Ireland; such a combination of hostility against this country, not to mention our own religious feuds, too often nurtured by that hostility, may, perhaps, lead us to an opinion, that Lord Charlemont was by no means erroneous in this respect. As one, therefore, who possessed rank and property, he determined to remain independent, and, in that character, to hold out a standard, to which, if emergencies rendered it necessary, men of public spirit, and honourable principle, might, if they thought proper, resort. Exalted talents he did not lay claim to, and therefore did not presume to guide such persons; but he could strictly say, that he would not deceive them, or the state. As an Irish nobleman, he particularly felt the subjugated state in which the House of Lords was placed, by the statute of George the First, which deprived that assembly of its rights of final judicature.

Whether it was precisely at this period, I know not, but, most certainly, in the early part of his political life, he had determined, if engaged in any law-suit, the decision of which might have been unfavourable to him, or even by a fictitious one, to bring an appeal before the Lords. He conceived that they, who had, in truth, not acquiesced in, but resisted, as far as in their power, this violent measure, were bound to, and would, receive the appeal. But a severe and continued illness prevented him from engaging in this business.—When more advanced in years, he used to speak of this illness as rather a fortunate one; for, the House of Lords, as he discovered, would not have entertained his suit; and therefore his efforts, instead of removing, would have more stabilitated the usurpation. The times also fought against him. "Neither Grattan nor Flood," as his Lordship said, speaking on this subject, "were then in Parliament, nor, if they were, would Parliament have encouraged them. My splendid, but boyish, scheme, therefore, fell to the ground." The anecdote is,

however, recorded here, as a proof how long, before the year 1782, he entertained those sentiments in favour of the liberty of his country, which that illustrious period so embodied and established.

Lord Chesterfield thought proper to term the House of Lords, in England, an hospital of incurables; but by what appellation he would have distinguished the Irish House of Lords, at this juncture, I cannot well conceive. However, it reflects no discredit on their lordships, that, borne down as they were by a power, which they could not resist, their Journals, session after session, present nothing but one unvaried waste of sterility, or provincial imbecility. The proceedings of many a solemn day, in the first assembly of the kingdom, are recorded in the following brief chronicle:—"Prayers. Ordered, that the Judges be covered. Adjourned." But, whatever their unimportance, they seem, in the shreds and patches of their political capacity, to have been the most versatilely civil, obsequious noblemen, that could possibly exist. On the approaching departure of the Duke of Devonshire,* in 1756, they address his Grace in the following manner:—"We shall esteem ourselves greatly favoured by his Majesty, (whom God long preserve) in the continuing of your Grace in that high station you now so eminently fill. For, we are fully convinced, that your *frequent* appearance in that office will add new lustre to the reign of our royal Sovereign, stability to our peace, &c." with several compliments of the like nature. The next year, 1757, the nation was engaged in war, and his Majesty had, according to their account, "an unnatural conjunction of powers to contend with." What was their Lordships' consolation? Let us attend to their address to his Majesty:—"When such formidable designs are laid to deprive us of all our constitutional rights and liberties, it must raise the *highest* and *greatest* confidence, as well as the warmest returns of gratitude and loyalty, in every Protestant bosom, to know that they are committed, by his Majesty's great wisdom and goodness, to the care of—" not the Duke of Devonshire, whose *frequent* appearance among them was to add such lustre to the throne—but the Duke of Bedford; a most respectable nobleman, certainly; very dissimilar, however, in many points to his predecessor. But any Viceroy would, at

* Lord Hartington's father died whilst the Marquis was in Ireland, and he had now become Duke of Devonshire.

that time, or, indeed, long after, have been equally complimented. Such varying adulation can excite no levity; it inspires far other sentiments; it shews the malignant effect of overbearing power, degrading all within the influence of its fatal touch, and sinking the loftiest natures to one sad level of piteous servility. The ancient Greek, when enslaved, so complimented a succession of Roman proconsuls; and the modern Athenian, from his abyss of thraldom, secretly murmurs against, and publicly adulates, the chief officer of the seraglio.

John, Duke of Bedford, whose family, at the revolution, was united by blood, as well as political principle, to that of the Cavendishes, did not always, nor, I believe, often co-operate with them in Parliament; but his Grace was, like the Duke of Devonshire, a Whig. He possessed much quickness of parts, real goodness of disposition, great warmth, and great facility of temper, which rendered him accessible to some who were totally unworthy of his confidence. Lord Charlemont lived on cordial terms, but not of such strict intimacy, with his Grace, as with the late Viceroy. The Duke's excellent qualities were always acknowledged by his Lordship; "but no wonder," he used to add, "that a secretary like Rigby, and a minister like Stone, often rendered such qualities of no avail, and tinctured them with the colour of their own peculiar habits."—As an instance of this, the first session of his administration had scarcely opened, when it was stated in the House of Commons, and agreed to, "That the pensions and salaries placed on the civil establishment of Ireland, since the 23d of March, 1755, amounted to the annual sum of £28,103; that several of such pensions were granted for long and unusual terms, and several to persons not resident in the kingdom; that granting so much of the public revenue in pensions was an improvident disposition of the revenue, an injury to the crown, and detrimental to the kingdom."

It was ordered, that the House should attend the Lord Lieutenant, and request his Grace to transmit these resolutions to the King. The Duke's reply was, "That he could not suddenly determine whether it would be proper to transmit them or not." This was on the 12th of November, 1757; and the House, on the 14th of the same month, resolved, by a majority of twenty-one, "That all orders should be adjourned until an answer was received from the Lord Lieutenant." Rigby, alarmed at this procedure, acquainted the House, next day, "That he was desired by the Lord Lieutenant to state, that their

resolutions of the 1st of November should be transmitted forthwith." Such were the early embarrassments into which the sinister advice of Stone, and, more particularly, the violent councils of Rigby, uniformly adverse to all public-spirited proceedings, precipitated the Duke. His Grace spoke frequently afterwards of his hasty refusal, in terms of unqualified regret, and with great emotion; but the same councils almost generally prevailed. Lord Charlemont was totally incapacitated, by illness, from attending Parliament in 1757; but, by the aid of Doctor Lucas, whom he always regarded, he in some measure recovered his health before the year 1760, when his attendance in the House was constant, and his opposition to Rigby's measures almost uniform.

A rumour very generally prevailed, during part of the Duke of Bedford's Vice-royalty, that a legislative union of both kingdoms was in contemplation. Whether any foundation for such a report existed, I know not; but it was productive of much riot, dissatisfaction, and disturbance, and contributed, for some time, to render his Grace extremely unpopular. It is not unlikely that Rigby, a man of great political shrewdness, a boon companion, and living altogether in the joyous circles of the principal men of wit, and Parliamentary leaders in Ireland, should at once follow the dictates of some of his English connections,* and his own inclinations, in recommending, at particular convivial hours, the necessity, and, according to some politicians, wisdom of such a measure. Any discourse of that nature would have been soon known in Dublin, and, from thence, throughout the kingdom. But Ireland was completely adverse to any proposition which had such a tendency. It was not, however, the prospect of a union, but the general state of politics, and, to do justice to the Duke of Bedford, his own benign, generous disposition, corresponding with the enlarged views of some of his connections in England, which opened a more liberal communication between government and the Catholics, than had, till then, been at all experienced.

When the Lords, in their first address to the Duke, told his Grace, "That his Majesty's loyal subjects of Ireland had long wished to see the government of this kingdom delegated to the heir and descendant of the great person (Lord Russell) who had paved the way (such was their phrase) for the late glorious

* Mr. Fox, Lord Sandwich, particularly.

revolution," there was certainly the usual superabundance of court breeding in this; but it was by no means void of foundation. Many loyal persons did wish to see the descendant of Lord Russell here; but there were also too many who desired to see such an illustrious personage the Viceroy of Ireland, not with the expectation, or least wish, of meeting a more exalted protector, a more magnanimous opponent to headlong, arbitrary power, if it again reared its head, but one who might possibly display those antipathies to the very name of Catholics, which, in the hour of furious party, Lord Shaftsbury, for his own purposes, infused into the mind of Lord Russell. Undoubtedly, such antipathies gave no additional grace or strength to that illustrious patriot's just opposition to Charles the second, and his profligate proceedings. Greatly, therefore, were such persons disappointed in the conduct of the Duke of Bedford; and equally, though agreeably, disappointed were the Catholics, in feeling the first rays of a more expanded protection beam on them, from a quarter where they least expected it.* Amidst all the profusion of Lord Bolingbroke's splendid declamation, and paucity of genuine facts, or sober reasonings, there is one circumstance as to Ireland, and some of its politicians, which is strictly true. "Without breach of charity," his Lordship observes, in his correspondence with the Duke of Shrewsbury, "it may be said, that there is a good deal of the spirit of Cromwell's agitators in the Irish Whig leaders." Too often has it been fatally felt here, to the exclusion, in general, of the comprehensive policy of King William, though the most proscriptive acts against Irish Catholics are strangely sanctioned, or rather attempted to be so, by his resplendent name.

Whilst the Duke of Bedford continued here, France meditated an invasion of this country, which, as is well known, was completely baffled by the skill and bravery of Lord Hawke. His victory over Conflans prevented 12,000 men from being landed in the south of Ireland; and of five frigates, carrying twelve hundred men, destined for the invasion of our northern coasts, and to divert the attention of government, three frigates only, with about six hundred men, entered the bay of Carrickfergus, on the 21st of February, 1760. The rest was

* "Via prima salutis,
Quod minimè reris, Graiâ pandetur ab urbe."

How often does this occur in our progress through life!

dispersed by storms. This small force was commanded by a Monsieur Thurot, a very brave and intelligent man, who, sometimes as a naval officer, but much oftener as a smuggler, visited the coast of Ireland, and was perfectly acquainted with it. Thurot, in a council of war, advised, that without attending to Carrickfergus, they should immediately sail up to Belfast, a large, commercial, and very opulent town ; but Monsieur de Flobert, who was at the head of the whole embarkation, differed from his colleague, and insisted, that to leave behind them such a *fortified* place as Carrickfergus, (an old half-dismantled castle) would be against all military rules and precedents. Thurot adhered to his opinion. Flobert poured forth all his military learning ; and concluded with invoking the manes of Vauban ! Thurot gave way, at last, and Belfast was saved from complete plunder, by theories, and misplaced eloquence. A word or two, as to the French commander, may be permitted here. This Monsieur Flobert seems to have been a singular character. In bravery, simplicity, sufficiency of reading to lead him totally astray, and fancy similitudes where there were none ; added to an eternal talk of the disciplines of wars, he was not unlike Fluellen, in Shakespear's Henry V. Lord Charlemont's kindness and polite attention to him had entirely engaged his affections ; and when, after much difficulty, he obtained leave to go to London, he requested Lord Charlemont (who was also going there) to permit him to accompany his Lordship. When they arrived at Chester, he heard that there were robbers on the road, and immediately consigned whatever money he had to the care of Lord Charlemont, being satisfied that they would not venture to attack *so great a man*. He happened to be with his Lordship in London, when some one came in and mentioned that it was positively fixed that Earl Ferrers should suffer death. Flobert was all amazement.—" Mais, mon Dieu !" said he, with the utmost eagerness, to Lord Charlemont, " est ce vraiment, *un mi lord,* qu'on va pendre pour avoir tuè un pauvre diable ! Un-Comment l'appellez vous ! un maître d'hotel ! un petit bourgeois."—" Oui, vraiment," replied Lord Charlemont, " et non seulement un milord, mais parent du roi."—" Parbleu !" cried Flobert, shrugging up his shoulders, " cela est assez singulier ; mais, après tout, très-beau. Oui. Trés-beau en verité."

Lord Rothes, the commander in chief, was sent forward to the north, and the Duke was determined to follow him, as he assured Lord Charlemont ; who, as governor of the county of Armagh, immediately waited on his Grace

to receive his commands. From the castle Lord Charlemont proceeded directly to Belfast, which he found as well defended as the time and circumstances would permit. "The appearance of the peasantry," said Lord Charlemont,* "who had thronged to its defence, many of whom were my own tenants, was singular and formidable. They were drawn up in regular bodies, each with its own chosen officers, and formed in martial array; some few with old firelocks, but the greater number armed with what is called in Scotland the Loughhaber axe, a scythe fixed longitudinally to the end of a long pole,—a desperate weapon, and which they would have made a desperate use of. Thousands were assembled in a small circuit; but these thousands were so thoroughly impressed with the necessity of regularity, that the town was perfectly undisturbed by tumult, by riot, or even by drunkenness." The country had poured forth its inhabitants with such rapidity and spirit, (for more than 2000 of the militia, as it was termed, but armed and clothed at their own expense, had been brought from the different northern counties) that when Lord Charlemont arrived at Carrickfergus, the enemy's fleet had reimbarked, and was only waiting for a favourable wind. Flobert, and some of his officers and men, were left behind wounded. Lord Charlemont, with his usual humanity and politeness, visited them; and, by his influence and assistance, procured such accommodations, and necessaries, as, in an exasperated town, might not otherwise have been obtained. They were delighted to find a man to whom they could pour forth their complaints in their own language, and their loquacity was unlimited. A few ancient matrons of the place assured him, in terms at least as positive as querulous, that the violation of their property was not the only species of violation which they had to lament. He condoled with them; but to remedy their complaints was, of course, beyond his power. His presence, however, added not a little to the gallant spirit which prevailed. Though the inhabitants had sustained some loss, their invaders had not gained much; and, in a short time, the general course of affairs assumed its ordinary aspect. The incidents, therefore, on this his first military expedition to Belfast and Carrickfergus, which he afterwards visited as the commander of thousands, were but trifling. But what he then was witness to, made a deep impression; he beheld several hundreds of peasantry rushing directly from their fields, submitting to military discipline, exposing themselves

* Private papers.

to every inconvenience, as if they had been veterans; and whilst they remained at Belfast, protecting it, without riot, without irregularity of any sort. All that had been related by various authors of the military spirit of the Irish, was recalled to his memory; whilst the appearance of the men confirmed the testimony of Spencer,* as to the gallant bearing and military port of Irishmen. Their native ardor, at that moment, proved to him how capable such men are of defending their country, if they are, in peace, nursed under the wing of civil wisdom, and, in war, led on to the field, by a fortitude and frankness similar to their own.

If this French force had landed in the south of Ireland, where Catholics were predominant, there is, on the whole, just reason to imagine, from respectable cotemporary evidence, that it would have been equally repelled there. It is due to the memory of Lord Chesterfield to state, that the effects of his lenient and wise administration were felt even after the period I now treat of; and the Duke of Bedford, as has been mentioned, regarded the Catholics with a benignity unknown to most of his predecessors. The despicable policy of exciting one religious sect against another, though too long familiar to Irish statesmen, was, at that moment, most happily, not practised. Irishmen were not, if I may so express it, goaded into loyalty. Uncoerced by domestic malice, and unappalled by foreign levies, they bravely seconded a brave English navy, and Ireland was saved.

The Duke of Bedford, when alluding to this invasion, in his speech from the throne, showed a generous, becoming candour, and did justice to his own feelings and those of his royal master. "The spirit of his Majesty's subjects in the north of Ireland was so effectually applied, as to prevent any considerable damage to be done by the enemy, till the regular troops, which were at a distance, could be brought up; whereby the enemy was intimidated from advancing beyond the walls of Carrickfergus. This his Majesty sees, with great pleasure, and approves the spirit exerted on that occasion." On a subsequent day, the Duke proved himself not unmindful of Lord Charlemont's conduct at this critical period. When Lord Northumberland, before he set out for Ireland, was desired, in council, to offer Lord Charlemont an earldom, the Duke of Bedford took that opportunity to expatiate on his merits, and particularly dwelt on the alacrity and loyal spirit which his Lordship displayed on the landing of the

* See his View of the State of Ireland.

French troops, in 1760. This evinced much nobleness of mind; for Lord Charlemont had opposed many of his Grace's measures in Parliament. It is also to be recorded, to the honour of the Duke's memory, that when public credit had sunk almost to the lowest depth, in the first year of his administration, he obtained a King's letter for £20,000, and relieved the distresses of the poor of the metropolis, as far perhaps as any Viceroy, in a similar situation, could possibly have done.

His Grace returned to England in the summer of 1760. On the 25th of October, following, died his Majesty, George the Second, a prince justly entitled to the respect, and grateful veneration, of his subjects. The first Lord Lieutenant appointed under the new reign, was Lord Halifax, who came to Ireland in October, 1761. It cannot be altogether uninteresting, or useless, to touch briefly on the characters of those noblemen who have successively filled, during Lord Charlemont's time, the very high station of Viceroy of Ireland. Lord Halifax was great nephew to the famous Earl of Halifax, who is, perhaps, equally well known by the name of Charles Montagu; a man most servilely applauded as a poet, and most justly as a statesman. Swift insulted his memory, although he declared, that Lord Halifax was the only Whig in England whom he loved, or had a good opinion of; and Pope, having complimented him in prose, abused him in verse, too pointed, and too malignant, to be easily forgotten by the generality of mankind. Such is the candour of professed satirists. His successor, the Viceroy now alluded to, inherited no small portion of his abilities, as well as his ambition. He was a nobleman of great elegance of person and of manners; in short, thoroughly versed in the trade of a refined and eloquent courtier, and an intelligent, useful man of business. He was attended to Ireland by a gentleman who derived no celebrity from his ancestors, however respectable, but was the founder of his own fame and fortune. This was Mr. Gerard Hamilton—eminent for his very singular talents, and as much distinguished by his speech, as his silence, in the House of Commons. The uncommon splendor of his eloquence, which was succeeded by such inflexible taciturnity in St. Stephen's chapel, became the subject, as might be supposed, of much, and idle speculation. The truth is, that all his speeches, whether delivered in London or Dublin, were not only prepared, but studied, with a minuteness and exactitude, of which those who are only used to the carelessness

of modern debating, can scarcely form any idea. Lord Charlemont, who had been long and intimately acquainted with him, previous to his coming to Ireland, often mentioned that he was the only speaker, among the many he had heard, of whom he could say, with certainty, that all his speeches, however long, were written and got by heart. A gentleman, well known to his lordship and Hamilton, assured him, that he heard Hamilton repeat, no less than three times, an oration, which he afterwards spoke in the House of Commons, and lasted almost three hours. As a debater, therefore, he became as useless to his political patrons as Addison was to Lord Sunderland; and, if possible, he was more scrupulous in composition than even that eminent man. Addison would stop the press to correct the most trivial error in a large publication; and Hamilton, as I can assert, on indubitable authority, would recall the footman, if, on recollection, any word, in his opinion, was misplaced or improper, in the slightest note to a familiar acquaintance. Painful pre-eminence! Yet this weigher of words, and balancer of sentences, was most easy and agreeable in conversation. He passed his time, except with unnecessary anxiety as to his literary fame, unembarrassed and cheerful, among a few select friends of either sex; (to the fair sex he rendered himself peculiarly acceptable;) intriguing statesmen, and grave philosophers. Johnson highly valued him, and was never slow or reluctant in acknowledging the superiority of his talents, or the generosity of his disposition towards those whom he valued and admired. Lord Charlemont was the person who first introduced Edmund Burke to Hamilton—an introduction which, I believe, led to Burke's subsequent fortune. These extraordinary men were afterwards at variance, and Lord Charlemont, being a friend to each, was chosen mediator in their whimsical quarrel, as his Lordship termed it. But whence that quarrel arose, or what was its conclusion, I know not.—It happened that at the time Lord Halifax was appointed Chief Governor of Ireland, Lord Charlemont was in London, where he resided constantly, when the Irish Parliament was not sitting. An event took place at this period, which, though seemingly unimportant at first, involved, as Lord Charlemont conceived, to a certain degree, the honour of Ireland, as the prerogatives of its nobility must always be connected with the national rank and character. The Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh had been happily chosen as the consort of his Majesty, and was daily expected in London. A number of the Irish Peeresses

was there just at that time, and, as a matter of course, they were prepared to walk in the procession at the royal nuptials; when, a short time before the Queen landed, the Duchess of Bedford received orders to acquaint them, that they were not to walk, or form any part of the ceremonial whatever! That they were most justly mortified at such an uncourtly, and unexpected mandate, even the most rugged philosopher must allow. To bid fair ladies "lay their costly robes aside," on such an occasion; to exclude the noblewomen of Ireland from sharing in the honours of an august ceremony, which equally interested both nations, was exposing them to ridicule, and Ireland, whose Peeresses they were, to contempt and degradation. They applied, therefore, to Lord Charlemont, to interest himself in their behalf, and vindicate the rights and privileges of the Irish Peerage. Too young then, and too well bred at any period of his life, not to obey the commands of ladies, had any thing been wanting to ensure such obedience, their bright eyes, of course, rained influence, and decided him as to the business. So, forth he issued, their proclaimed and adventurous champion. To such of the nobility as were then in town he immediately addressed himself; but, alas! his chivalrous ardor was most miserably, or rather not at all, seconded. That, from long habitude, depressed, and neglected, they should cease to feel as patriots, or even for their own body, was nothing extraordinary; but that, as Irish gentlemen, they should not feel, when the rights of ladies, and their own countrywomen too, or the wives of their countrymen, were concerned, is passing strange. Whether they did not chuse to give offence, or whether any of them might unfortunately have recollected, that some of their predecessors had been once maliciously told, that they could not expect to walk at any royal procession, except a funeral, as they would *then* be in their proper station, as Irishmen, and might *howl* as much as they pleased; but, in short, they declined all interference, all tilts, and joustings whatever on the occasion, and left Lord Charlemont to enter the lists alone. Such is servitude! Let Irish ladies, therefore, (as, to do them justice, they are ever most patriotically inclined) always exert their just influence in preventing their lords from deviating from political rectitude; as this instance alone must prove, that slaves are unworthy their regards, and that those who are timid, and negligent of the best rights, or any rights of Ireland, will be equally supine, equally neglectful, of theirs.

At last, however, Lord Charlemont found one nobleman, Lord Middleton, whom this piteous torpor did not reach. He attended Lord Charlemont to Bushy Park, (the residence of the Earl of Halifax) and stated the matter to his Lordship. The Viceroy met their wishes with a politeness equal to their own, and immediately waited on his Majesty, to whom he humbly submitted this claim of the Irish ladies. His Majesty's answer, as might be expected, was most gracious and condescending. But the note of Lord Halifax, which stated the King's benignity as it deserved, stated also, that a council was ordered to be summoned next day, before whom precedents, to establish the claim, should be laid; and Lord Charlemont was, to his great astonishment and distress, ordered to furnish such precedents. A young nobleman of fashion is generally not very conversant with the Herald's office; precedents, and all the solemn records of similar pageantries, were terra incognita to him. The time drew near; his embarrassment was extreme. To desert the women he could not think of; but how to produce these tremendous precedents, he knew not. At last Lord Egmont came into his recollection. That nobleman, whom he had long known, could, he was well convinced, give him notable assistance.—Early the next morn was the grave Earl of Egmont's bedchamber besieged by Lord Charlemont; when, after a thousand apologies, (Lord Egmont was not out of bed) he stated his errand. Never were errand, or communication, more acceptable. Lord Egmont had, as is well known, excellent talents, and well adapted to the discharge of the highest public duties; but they embraced a variety of objects; and in the genealogy of several British, or Irish families, he was as particularly conversant, as Atticus is stated to have been in that of the great Roman houses, the Marcelli, the Claudii, and others. His heraldic knowledge was also singularly minute and circumstantial; and, on points of precedence, or adjusting the slow and solemn steps of exalted personages, at public ceremonials, neither Mowbray, nor Lancaster Heralds, Blue Mantle, or Rouge Dragon, could venture to approach his Lordship.

He entered immediately into the subject, panegyrized Lord Charlemont for the part he had taken, and added, that he hoped he might without vanity say, that he was as fit a person as his Lordship could apply to, as he had written an essay, or book, on the rights of the Irish Peerage. He arose, furnished Lord Charlemont with the desired precedents, which,

as the council met early, were transmitted to Lord Halifax, most miserably, and ill-favouredly written.—It will be scarcely credited, but it is most sadly true, that the claim was not only opposed, but even with virulence. The old Lord Delawar was furious against it. Lords Halifax and Talbot were for it. Such were the debates, and so balanced were the parties, that the council broke up, and decided nothing. Lord Egmont's precedents could not, in truth, be set aside; but the pertinacity of some Lords was invincible. At last his Majesty most generously put an end to the unworthy contest, and issued his order that, at the ensuing ceremonial, the Irish nobility should walk according to their respective ranks; that is, Irish Marquisses, or Earls, after British Marquisses, and so on.

Lord Charlemont, disgusted at the opposition to a claim so reasonable, resolved, as far as in him lay, that it should be above all cavil in future, and by his inteference, several Irish nobility of every rank walked, and their names were inserted in the ceremonial. This business made a great noise in London; and, whilst it was depending, Lady Hervey, to whom Lord Charlemont had the honour of being known, as all the celebrated men of rank and talents in London or Paris then were, assured him, that Lord Bute conversed with her frequently on the claim which had been instituted; that he considered it as perfectly well founded, and highly applauded Lord Charlemont's conduct throughout the whole of the negotiation. Some propositions, but rather indistinct, were then made by the minister to Lord Charlemont, as to the Irish nobility walking at the ensuing coronation; they underwent some discussion, but were afterwards dropped. This contest, according to Lord Charlemont, clearly evinced the propensity of some English statesmen, in those days, to dispute the rights of Ireland in every instance, even in comparatively unimportant matters. The recollection of it was never effaced from his mind, and had some influence on his Parliamentary conduct at a subsequent period. If, therefore, some persons frown at the length of this detail, I can only endeavour to propitiate them, by observing, that the unwise opposition to so slight, but just claim of the Irish Peeresses, was thus, in some measure, the foundation of the independence of Ireland. It is not the first time that the claims of ladies, whether ill or well founded, and their dissatisfaction at being excluded from honours and distinctions, which others of their

sex of birth, not more illustrious than their own, were in possession of, have caused no slight changes in the countries to which they belonged. When the younger Fabia, as we learn from Livy, accidentally discovered that, though married into a noble family, she was not permitted to enjoy distinctions and rank, similar to those of her sister, her mortification was only terminated by a most considerable change in the Roman state—the admission of Plebeians to the consulate: and thus have great alterations often arisen from events not the least likely, at first sight, or to a common observer, to be any way capable of producing them.

The door of communication between a Lord Lieutenant and the Catholics, too long, and inauspiciously closed, had, as already stated, been partly opened during the late Viceroyalty. It was now proposed to open it somewhat wider. A measure was brought forward in the House of Commons, which plainly evinces that the English government was resolved to do *something* with regard to the Catholics; and the Irish legislature, at that time, was resolved to do nothing. As it is well known that Lord Charlemont differed from many of his friends, on what may be generally termed the Catholic question, and did not change his sentiments in that respect till late in life,—in truth, he never abandoned them altogether—it may be matter of curiosity to trace the course of his feelings in this momentous business. Fortunately I am enabled to give his own opinion in his own words, not merely of the measure immediately to be touched on, but also of the state in which the Catholics then stood; the disinclination of far the major part of the Protestants to concede any thing to them, the furious and malignant hostility of some of the Irish leaders to their countrymen, and the mistaken policy of a powerful English administration, in not opposing that hostility. It is to be observed, that Lord Charlemont continued, as usual, perfectly independent; and though, as to regular opposition, if it may be so termed, there was none, still there were a few in both Houses who resisted some parliamentary measures, not without success, and prevented government, in some instances, from doing mischief.

—" One measure, proposed by the Earl of Halifax's administration," says Lord Charlemont, " was not, I confess, so disagreeable to me

as it* certainly was to the majority of Irish Protestants. The situation of the Catholic gentry of Ireland was, at this time, truly deplorable. The hostile statutes enacted against them, however their necessity may have ceased, were still unrepealed; and, respecting devise and inheritance, they laboured under the greatest hardships. In time, however, it might be hoped that these difficulties would be palliated, or perhaps removed; but they were subjected to one inconvenience, which seemed to be so interwoven with the existence of a Protestant interest and government, that sound policy, and, indeed, necessity, must for ever prevent its being remedied. Their sons were destitute of profession; the only occupation left them was foreign service, and of this they availed themselves; but as the French service, in which a national brigade had been formed for their reception, was that to which they most frequently resorted, they often found themselves compelled to fight against their king and their country, and to exercise their native valour to the destruction of that soil from whence it was derived. At this time, when we were involved in a war with Spain, the Portuguese, then esteemed the natural allies of Great Britain, had warmly solicited some effectual and permanent aid from the English court, and a plan was formed to comply with their request, by suffering them to raise, among the Catholics of Ireland, six regiments, to be officered with Irish gentlemen of the same persuasion, and taken into the pay of Portugal. To this effect a motion was made in the House of Commons, by Secretary Hamilton, and supported by a torrent of eloquence which bore down all before it. Never had such an oration been uttered within those walls; and if, in the more attic times of our rising state, it may have been surpassed, the superior dignity and importance of the subjects have assisted our more modern orators full as much as their superior abilities. The measure, however, was warmly opposed; the danger was alleged of suffering so great a number of Catholics to be arrayed, armed, and disciplined, who, though in a distant and friendly service, might, at some unforeseen, but possible crisis, return to their native land, to the manifest danger of the Protestant interest in church and state. It was also said, that Ireland could not spare so many of her inhabitants; that the south and west, where these recruits would principally

* Private papers.

be raised, were thinly peopled; and that the cultivation of those countries would be checked, if not entirely annihilated. Though I felt the weight of these arguments, the liberality of the plan was so pleasing to a youthful heart, free from prejudice, and deeply impressed with the wretched situation of my Catholic countrymen, that I could not help wishing its success; and the bigotted zeal, which evidently appeared to be the real basis of the opposition, undoubtedly added strength to my wishes. The force of the first argument was lessened by the consideration, that, of these intended regiments, the officers, at least, would be no very considerable accession to the Popish array, since it was more than probable, that the majority of them would consist of gentlemen already disciplined, who would willingly quit the Irish brigades, for a friendly and legal service; and thus far the measure would operate favourably, as we should be enabled to recal our brave countrymen from the service of our enemies; and, at least, to direct the course of that valour which our unfortunate circumstances forbad us to employ in our own behalf. The loss of inhabitants was not much; the defalcation of three thousand men could scarcely be supposed capable of annihilating the cultivation of two great provinces; neither did *they* seem well entitled to the benefit of this argument, by whose oppression double the number was annually compelled to emigration; and it was but too evident that a principle of the most detestable nature lay hidden under this specious mode of reasoning. The Protestant Bashaws of the South and West, were loth to resign so many of those wretches, whom they looked upon, and treated, as their slaves. When abroad I had been intimately acquainted with many of my countrymen in foreign service, and never knew one who did not regret the horrid necessity of bearing arms occasionally against his country. My most particular friend, the brave, and truly amiable general O'Donnell, when speaking on this subject has often wept.

" These circumstances may certainly have biassed my judgment; and, though contrary to my wishes in some degree, it was not, perhaps, imprudent or impolitic, that this measure, which undoubtedly might have been carried, was finally given up by government. Yet, whatever may have been the prudence of a concession so unusual in Irish administration, I cannot give them much credit for it, since the real cause of their forbearance

most certainly was, that, of the great undertakers for government in the House of Commons, some of the most powerful were Southern Bashaws, whose prejudices were to be respected, and whose wishes were not to be controverted."

Such was Ireland at that time; but I must observe, that many who took the lead then in Parliament, and the Irish councils, were by no means tinctured with this sad malignity. Mr. Malone, and others, were too wise, too liberal; and it really must excite some astonishment that they were enabled to uphold the English government at all, with that government not always disposed towards them, the mass of the people generally dissatisfied with them, and English councils; whilst the Provincial Bashaws, as Lord Charlemont justly calls them, lent to a sanguinary code new severities of their own, and almost gave to the battles of more than half a century past, all their concomitant terrors, — but no calm, — no oblivion. It is impossible not to contemplate, with satisfaction and gratitude, the change which has since taken place; the almost entire abolition of that iron code, and those iron manners which it necessarily engendered; for, surely, till the united Irishmen began their sad work of desolation, a most beneficial metamorphosis had taken place in the public mind of Ireland, and we did not regard each other with that hereditary scowl, and descendible mien of disgust, and alienation, which so long deformed the countenances of Irishmen. As the rebellion which lately took place did not owe its rise to any relaxation of the great penal code against Catholics, so neither would the restoration (as some basely and foolishly counsel) of that code prevent its recurrence. But the most salutary laws must have time to take root; and if that wise melioration of the Catholic system was too newly adopted to withstand a revolution, which, in its course, (such is the will of Providence) has crumbled potentates, princes, and principalities to atoms, who can be surprized? Who does not know, with what slowness and reluctance, prejudice and ignorance give way even to the most enlightened benignity? and that, however gratitude may take place in our bosoms, for benefits at length conferred, the quickness of its growth will not always equal the keen remembrance of our oppression, especially if that oppression has, at some periods, been uncouthly, or awkwardly removed.

When an English administration attempted, in the manner we have described, to break, not the chain, but the slightest link of that chain, which separated Irishman from Irishman, and Ireland almost from Great Britain, it was an effort of unmixed policy and benignity. Political necessity, or a deplorable vicissitude in our affairs, had no share in it whatever. The preeminence of England was then at its height. Allied to America, which she had so well defended, France every where humbled, and even tremblingly anxious for a close of hostilities; to a nation covered with the spoils of war, and re-echoing only the songs of triumph, the depressed and subjugated catholic could not give one anxious or uneasy moment. Superior political sagacity, regarding the brilliancy of that day with a glow of transport, but provident of the future, might, indeed, contemplate a possible change of scene with emotion, and look for no slight support, in such a change, from a countenance of favour to the catholics, and gradual union of all ranks, or classes in Ireland. But such political prescience, and wary conduct, are not often to be found, and, least of all, in the hour of great prosperity. Some dawnings, however, of that light, appear in the measure proposed, and it is to be lamented that they were so soon obscured. But England, for a century past, and indeed much longer, seems not to have known, or wished to know, much of the real situation of Ireland, or the principal characters who, whether of more or less importance, presided in it. With some resemblance to persons who read merely for occasional company and conversation, without drinking deep of the springs of any knowledge whatever, the acquaintance of her ministers with this country seems to have arisen from gleams, and snatches, from the casual report of the day, some temporary, and too often, time-serving, distorted dispatch. It sprung up with, and was adapted to, the pressure of the moment, and with that pressure it soon faded away. When England rose to superior greatness and splendour, too many of those ministers superciliously and ungraciously turned themselves from us; when it was overwhelmed with calamity, they precipitately and ungraciously conceded. "We never had leisure to think of that country, (Ireland) when we were in power," says Swift in one of his letters to Lord Bolingbroke. A sentence which, as far as it goes, is no unfaithful portrait of most English

ministers since his time.—A new scene has now opened to England; she has lost America, much of her influence on the continent, and expended, in her wars with France, sums, of which our ancestors could not form any idea whatever. But she has framed a legislative union with Ireland, and France seems resolved, notwithstanding that momentous event, to separate the two countries, if ever it is in her power so to do. Baffled, as I trust all such efforts will be, it is now more particularly the bounden duty of England to look to Ireland. Every circumstance with regard to our civil or religious polity should be attended to. Our domestic manners, our domestic history. To form an exact and comprehensive judgment of such subjects, a knowledge of the present fleeting hour, or the actors now on the political scene, will be totally inadequate, without some acquaintance, also, with what has already past, and the eminent men who, for the last half century, have taken the lead in the legislative councils of Ireland.

The voice, indeed, of the Irish senate was seldom heard on the continent; and, it is to be lamented, but too feebly and indistinctly in Great Britain. Beyond the precincts of this kingdom, any record, however brief, of the transactions of that parliament, or those who were most conspicuous in it, will, in all probability, be rather uninteresting. If debates on the most important subjects, at Westminster, soon fade from the memory, or cease to be objects of particular regard; if, as Mr. Burke has justly observed, most of the deliberations in Sir Robert Walpole's time, compared to those of the present day, are mere parochial discussions, how little can the history of local and limited politics occupy or engage the attention of the generality of readers? Yet the politics of Ireland have now, for many centuries, been interwoven with those of Great Britain and its best interests. Even to those, whose solicitude for the general welfare of the empire is not augmented by any legislative duty, it may be matter of historic, certainly of liberal curiosity, to acquire some knowledge of the eminent men, who, with the aid of British statesmen, often without it, and under too many discouragements of every sort, domestic or external, influenced the deliberations of the Irish Parliament, and, in truth, preserved the connection between the two countries. Many of them were men of such experience, of intellect so seasoned, so wary, so provident, so mixed with political knowledge,

and improved by exertion, that an entire delineation of their characters would be more suited to the writer of Irish affairs in general, than memoirs like these. But to sketch some of the most prominent features of their minds, their habits, their political qualifications, and parliamentary history, may not be altogether uninteresting. Such parts of this work can scarcely be called digressions, or if so, they must, I think, be rather approved of than condemned. They will enable the reader to form a more accurate idea of the period in which Lord Charlemont lived, and he will be known much better, when we view, at the same time, many of those who are thus placed around him, whether statesmen, personal, or political friends, or political opponents. Their history will, sometimes, best elucidate his.—At the time that Lord Halifax visited Ireland, with Mr. Hamilton as his Secretary, Eloquence, or at least the higher species of it, that faculty which, whilst it instructs, animates, and impels the mind almost as it pleases, was, in general, disregarded. A certain degree of political ferment is necessary to the existence of oratory; and when the state becomes torpid, oratory will soon be equally so. The blaze which had been excited in 1753 was no more seen. The Chiefs who fanned that flame were completely gratified by the court, and had not the least inclination to indulge the public with such spectacles longer than suited their own sinister ambition. At this memorable period, Anthony Malone* had taken a part, such as might be expected from the preeminence of his intellectual powers; but, as it was the greatest, so it was, I believe, the last of his oratorial triumphs. Happily for the public, who derived such benefit from his Forensic labours, the vigor of his mind remained unbroken almost to the hour of his dissolution; but though he sometimes spoke in the House of Commons, no occasion presented itself, or, in his opinion, a similar exertion of his unrivalled talents was not requisite. It is to be observed that, though an excellent scholar, educated at Christ-church, Oxford, where he distinguished himself, he always spoke with more force than elegance. Refinement of language was not to be found in parliament at this time, nor for many years preceding. So far from it, that an unlettered style, almost approaching to coarseness

* Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. &c. in Ireland.

and vulgarity, was the only one permitted by the House of Commons. Some of the old members, (such is the force of habit) insisted, that business could not be carried on in any other, and the young members, till Mr. Hutchinson appeared, would not venture to contradict them. The *genuine business* of the House will always remain in the hands of a few, but parliamentary *speaking* was, in those days, confined also to a *few*; the Secretary, the leading commissioners of the revenue, the attorney-general, and one or two commissioners, grave serjeants at law. Men of sterile, and almost interminable rhetoric. If a contested election, or some such question, called forth the exertions of the gentlemen last mentioned, they never thought of closing their speeches, till repeated hints from their party obliged them so to do. If, to the dismay of the House, they rose near midnight, they were as certain, though sad, harbingers of day, as "the bird of dawning" ever was. The House was astonished at the laborious constancy of such men, and often resigned all speaking to them, in a kind of absolute despair.

John Hely Hutchinson, Father to the Earl of Donoughmore, and Lord Hutchinson, introduced a classical idiom into the House of Commons. No member was ever more extolled, and more in fashion than he was on his first appearance there. He opposed government upon almost every question, but his opposition was of no long continuance.—As an orator, his expression was fluent, easy, and lively; his wit fertile and abundant; his invective admirable, not so much from any peculiar energy of sentiment, or diction, as from being always unclogged with any thing superfluous, or which could at all diminish the justness and brilliancy of its colouring. It ran along with the feelings of the House, and never went beyond them. He saw what the House could bear, and seemed to take the lead in directing their resentment rather than in pointing his own. On such occasions he sunk, as it were, into a temporary oblivion of his own disposition, (for he was naturally very irritable) and appeared free from all unseemly impetuosity, indulging the keenest wit, equally within the rules of the House, and the limits of decorum. The consequence of this assumed calmness was, that he never was stopped. The House was paid such deference to, that it could not, and received so much entertainment, that it would not interfere. The members for a long time remembered his satire, and the objects of it seldom forgave it.

In his personal contests with Mr. Flood, (and in the more early part of their parliamentary career they were engaged in many,) he is supposed to have had the advantage. The respect which he uniformly observed towards the House, and the style of his speaking, might have contributed somewhat to this. His oratory was of that gayer kind which captivates an Irish auditory, and incorporated itself more easily with the subjects which, at that period, engaged the attention of the House of Commons. It was, therefore, without derogating at all from his talents, the contention of Demosthenes and Hyperides, on points where we may justly conclude, from the characters of those two eminent Athenians, Hyperides must have been superior. To Flood's anger, Hutchinson opposed the powers of ridicule, to his strength he opposed refinement, to the weight of his oratory, an easy, flexible ingenuity, nice discrimination, and graceful appeal to the passions. As the debate ran high, Flood's eloquence alternately displayed austere reasoning, and tempestuous reproof; its colours were chaste, but gloomy; Hutchinson's, on the contrary, were of " those which April wears," bright, various, and transitory; but it was a vernal evening after a storm; and he was esteemed the most successful because he was the most pleasing.

In every thing that he said in the House of Commons, he seemed to have a great sense of public propriety; he was not tedious, but he sometimes enlarged on subjects more than was necessary; a defect which his enemies criticised with peculiar severity. But Mr. Gerard Hamilton, (than whom a better judge of public speaking has seldom been seen,) observed, that he was that speaker, who, in his support of government, had always something to say which gratified the House. " He can go out in all weathers," continued Mr. Hamilton, " and as a debater is therefore inestimable.

He had attended much to the stage, and acquired a clearness and propriety of intonation, that gave what he said great impression. In his younger days he lived in great habits of intimacy with Quin, who admired his talents, and improved his elocution.

From some of his coadjutors he differed in one respect particularly; he never recommended a bad measure, that he might display an obtrusive and vulgar zeal for government, nor appeared a champion for British interest in preference to thatof his own country. He always spoke of it with respect and

affection; and as, in the course of time, questions came forward, which, when he first engaged in business, Parliament would have shrunk from, he was not awed into silence, but supported them all. The Octennial bill, the Free Trade, the Catholic bill, in which he was followed with hereditary talents and spirit, and latterly the Parliamentary reform. On the last-mentioned subject he spoke with no diminished powers; time had, indeed, changed his manner, but it was the placid manner of dignified age, and the House seemed to listen to him with peculiar and grateful satisfaction. His acceptance of the provostship of Trinity College was an unwise step; injurious to his peace, and almost clouding every prospect in his profession, the highest honors of which he would, in all probability, have otherwise attained. After a long enjoyment of Parliamentary fame it was then said, that he was no speaker; and, after the most lucrative practice at the bar, that he was no lawyer. But the public ultimately decides with propriety and candour. All the force of wit and talents arrayed against him, in his academical quarrels, could not authenticate these supposed discoveries of his want of knowledge and ability; his country thought far otherwise, and his reputation as a man of genius, and an active, well-informed statesman, remained undiminished to the last.

He was a man of high spirit; when he left opposition in 1760, and took the prime-serjeantcy, some of his enemies attempted to attack him in the House of Commons; but he asserted himself with such a lofty and firm tone, that it was thought prudent to attack him no more. In private life he was amiable, and in the several duties of father and husband, most exemplary.

Sir Richard Cox, one of the commissioners of the revenue, took a lead in the House of Commons at this time,—a man of sound sense, and who always spoke with a perfect knowledge of his subject. A late under-secretary of state in England, (Mr. William Knox) who was bred under him, speaks highly of his talents and aptitude for business. As a public speaker, he was particularly fluent, but inelegant, setting the graces perpetually at defiance; never, as an eminent person once said of him to me, at a loss for a word, and that word always a bad one. But good sense, in whatever homely garb it may be dressed, will eventually find its way, and establish, though late, its just authority over the minds of men. Many harmonious triflers, who were his contemporaries, and whose natural presumption, augmented beyond all bounds by the silly

plaudits of some of their auditors, made them regard Sir Richard as a Scythian compared to themselves, soon beheld a long night of oblivion close over their heads; whilst the clear understanding, and profound, though unadorned, knowledge of Cox, are still remembered with respect.

Francis Andrews, Provost of the University of Dublin, and one of the Privy Council in Ireland, is entitled, from the superiority of his talents, and the conspicuous part which, for several years, he acted in the politics of this country, to particular notice. He was elected Fellow of Trinity College in 1741, and succeeded Dr. Baldwin, as Provost, in 1758. It is pretty generally known that, in the more early part of his life, he was the friend and admirer of Mrs. Woffington, that celebrated woman, who, when we reflect on her beauty, her acquirements, the fascinating powers of her conversation, and the influence which she possessed over the minds of some men of the most exalted understandings, may be justly considered as the Aspasia of these kingdoms. This connection is merely alluded to, as the Popular prints of that day insisted, that Andrews owed his advancement to the successful exertion of her interest; an assertion than which nothing had ever less foundation. Baldwin was a Whig. As Toryism predominated in the University at the time of his appointment, the statesmen of that period, in order to eradicate Jacobite principles, supported him in all his academical proceedings, and it is certain that he ruled over that respectable seminary with almost unlimited sway. But, though an absolute, he was a decorous sovereign; and, some few instances excepted, did not abuse his power. The same may be said, and at least with equal truth, of his successor. Doctor Duigenan, who knew him well, and was a fellow of Trinity College during part of his provostship, has told us, and justly, that he governed the university for many years with great reputation.

He represented his native city of Derry in Parliament, and soon became a leading member; for he spoke often, and always with unquestioned ability. He was devoted to the court system. *Principibus placuisse viris*, was the avowed maxim on which he acted, and with peculiar success certainly; for few men ever rendered themselves more acceptable to the great; not merely to statesmen, or those who had it in their power to serve him, but to the gay, and fashionable part of the higher orders; and such was the versatility of his talents, that when in Italy he no less charmed, and almost astonished, the

learned professors of Padua, by his classical attainments, and the uncommon quickness, purity, and ease, with which he addressed, and replied to them in the Latin language, than he captivated our young men of rank, then resident at Rome,* by his lively and accommodating wit, his agreeable, useful, and miscellaneous knowledge.

Yet his manners were not refined; Sir Robert Walpole would have relished them more than Lord Chesterfield; but they were frank and open, accompanied with so much good humour, good nature, and real benevolence, that he had few, if any, personal enemies. He was fond of, and indulged in the pleasures of the table, but he added to the number of his friends;† and, when the chair of the House of Commons was vacant, by the resignation of the late Mr. Ponsonby, in 1771, he displayed the extent of his influence, in that assembly, by the election of his friend Mr. Pery‡ to the office of speaker, who, though eminently qualified for such a station, was much indebted to Andrews for his just promotion. Two men of more dissimilar habits perhaps never existed; yet the most cordial union subsisted between them from their earliest days to the year 1774, when Lord Pery witnessed the last mournful scene of Andrews' life at Shrewsbury. He was deeply regretted; and Rigby, who loved him, who was delighted with his colloquial powers, as his own were pre-eminent,§ wept like a child at the intelligence of his death.

Though perfectly disinterested, he was of a temper naturally aspiring. To an intimate friend he expressed his concern that he had relinquished his profession,

* From the information of the late most amiable Duke of Leinster particularly, and many gentlemen who lived much with him at Rome.

† His constant appellation, among those who were intimate with him, was, "Frank of many friends."

‡ Now, (1804,) Lord Pery.

§ The loss of this gentleman's society, and conversation was, a few years before, and on a very different occasion, lamented by his former friend, the good natured, and unsuspecting Lord Holland.

"But, Rigby, what did I for thee endure?
"Lost converse!—Never thought on without tears!

*See Lord Holland's verses on his return to Italy.*

(the law,) for the Provostship. It is equally certain that, a year or two before he died, he considered his necessary academical engagements as totally incompatible with those of a political nature, and lamented the ardor with which he had engaged in the latter. In the disposition of his property he shewed an unfeigned respect for the University, bequeathing a considerable sum for the foundation of an observatory, and the cultivation of astronomical science.

He first sat in Parliament for Middleton in the county of Cork, and was sworn in as member for that borough, 29th October, 1759. That most amiable and excellent young nobleman, Francis, Marquis of Tavistock, father of the late, and present, Duke of Bedford, took his seat in the Irish House of Commons, on the same day, as representative of Armagh. It is but a just tribute to departed worth, to add here that, during the residence of the Marquis in Ireland, he engaged the affections and esteem of every one who had the honor of being known to him, by the politeness and sweetness of his manners, and uniform propriety of his behaviour. His father was, at that time, and in the year 1757, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Tavistock, as is well known, died by a fall from his horse in hunting. During the autumn of the following year, (1768,) the Duke of Bedford visited Dublin, and was installed Chancellor of the University with much solemnity, and magnificence, in the old hall of Trinity College. Dr. Andrews, then Provost, made an inaugural speech on the occasion, which was much admired, especially that part of it where he alluded, with a generous and affecting tenderness, to the melancholy event of the preceding year; it was short, and mingled with that respect to the feelings of the Duke, which his presence, and the moment naturally required. I remember it well; and the very different sentiments with which I soon after read that part of the letter of Junius, which, with a cruelty, I believe, unparalleled, brought before an aged parent his lost and only son, to grieve still more his wounded heart. To describe such atrocity as it deserves, even the language of Junius himself would be inadequate. The Duke's journey to Ireland was, as I have been well assured, in a great measure undertaken to afford some relief to his mind, though his satirist says, that he addressed him because he felt nothing; but, to the malign coldness of a determined party-writer, nothing is venerable or sacred; nor truth, nor sorrow.

Philip Tisdall, Attorney-General, cannot be omitted in a work of this kind. The singularity of his talents and temperament demand a more peculiar delineation of his character. He came into Parliament in the year 1739, as representative of the University of Dublin. This respectable situation he occupied, though* not without some trouble, and much personal obloquy, at every election, to the time of his death, in 1777.

He had an admirable, and most superior understanding; an understanding matured by years; by long experience; by habits with the best company from his youth; with the bar, with Parliament, with the state. To this strength of intellect was added a constitutional philosophy, or apathy, which never suffered him to be carried away by attachment to any party, even his own. He saw men and things so clearly; he understood so well the whole farce and fallacy of life, that it passed before him like a scenic representation, and, till almost the close of his days, he went through the world with a constant sunshine of soul, and an inexorable gravity of feature. His countenance was never gay, and his mind was never gloomy.

He was an excellent politician, equally able to draw government into difficulties, and bring it out of them again, though it must be allowed, that he never abused the confidence of government. Far from it. But when ministers here found themselves embarrassed by neglecting to consult him, which was sometimes the case, he enjoyed their distress with peculiar complacency, and with a face of Erebus, no lover was, at that moment, more pleased, nor Stoic more immoveable. He seemed to have acquired an entire power over his senses, and when his mind was most impregnated, and his passions most engaged, he looked, if, in his opinion, the measure required it, as if he had almost ceased to see, to hear, or to speak.

He was an able speaker, as well at the bar, as in the House of Commons, though his diction was very indifferent. He did not speak so much at length as many of his parliamentary coadjutors, though he knew the whole of the subject much better than they did. He was not only a good speaker in Parlia-

* He was opposed at his first election by Mr. M'Caulay, a good lawyer, and respectable man. Dean *Swift* supported M'Cauley, who, on the casting up of the poll, had a majority of votes, but the court-party set his election aside, and declared Tisdall the sitting member.

ment, but an excellent manager of the House of Commons. He never said too much. He had great merit in what he did not say, for government was never committed by him. He plunged into no difficulty, nor did he ever suffer his antagonist to escape from one.

To liberty, or the people, he was no enemy. He was too well acquainted with the laws not to respect the constitution. He knew his own abilities too well not to be convinced that, in a free country, government could not go on without him; and that, whilst he was consulted by administration, it never would overset the liberties of the people. To form a just estimate of his principles, it is necessary to know what government did not do. This was the case with Mr. Malone, and one or two eminent men. They differed from the patriot not in principle, but as to the place where such principle might, *at that* time, be most efficaciously displayed. They struggled for the country in the Cabinet, as the orator often did, or said he did, in the House of Commons. This mode of conduct may appear strange, but it arose from the situation of Ireland, which those most able men did not wish to see engaged in quarrels with England. Their desire, therefore, was to do things calmly and quietly. They moderated parties, checked the too forward zeal of courtiers, and tempered the ardour of patriots. They postponed, but never thought of attempting to extinguish, any question relating to public liberty. "You may observe," said Mr. Tisdall to one of his friends, who was with him at his villa of Stillorgan, which commanded a view of the sea, "that the taking the embargo off corn has improved my prospect. You now see some ships. I signed the proclamation for taking off that embargo; but, the proclamation for laying it on, I took care not to sign that." He was the first person who omitted, in the revenue bill, the clause, providing that the act should continue till the end of the next session. It was, on his part, a patriotic and provident measure. The English council restored the clause, which was afterwards a subject of debate in the House of Commons, and, in that debate, Mr. Tisdall was the only person who was personally attacked, though he alone, of the Irish Cabinet, had any merit on the question. But parliamentary hostility is often misplaced, and, from the nature of a popular assembly, such errors are unavoidable.

On some miserable, ill-advised contest of government with the city of Dublin, the crown lawyers marshalled themselves in sad and painful array, to

support the nonsense of administration "I shall leave my ragamuffins where they will be well peppered," said Tisdall, to a gentleman of the bar, who stood near him, and walked out of court.

He was a profound lawyer, and his opinion was frequently resorted to from England. In domestic life he was social and agreeable. His table was remarkably splendid and magnificent, and often, as the public prints said, subservient to political purposes. But with what truth the observation was made I know not. When abroad, particularly at Spa, he lived with almost equal splendour. Take him, all in all, he was, in some respects, one of the most singular, as unquestionably he was, by far, one of the most able statesmen, whom Ireland ever beheld.

Mr. Henry Flood spoke, for the first time in Parliament, during Lord Halifax's administration. He was fired by Hamilton's success, and complimented by Hutchinson, who opposed him. Every one, in short, applauded him, Primate Stone excepted, whom he abused, and who was not sufficiently politic, or magnanimous, to pass over the invective of the young orator. During the first part of Mr. Flood's speech, his Grace, who was in the House of Commons, and did not know precisely what part the new member would take, declared, that he had great hopes of him; when Flood sat down, his Grace asserted, with some vehemence, that a duller gentleman he had never heard. I shall have occasion to touch on Mr. Flood's character more fully in the course of these Memoirs. Lord Charlemont, who thought highly of his talents, was, at various periods of his life, closely connected with him.

Mr. Edmund Pery, afterwards Lord Pery, came into the House of Commons in the year 1751. The subsequent session of 1753 was remarkable for the first great parliamentary contest in Ireland. The Duke of Dorset, son of the celebrated and amiable Lord Dorset, was then Lord Lieutenant; government was led on by Primate Stone, a man of unbounded ambition. Lord Charlemont, who knew him perfectly, often assured me, that the temper and genius of the English people, and English constitution, averse to all ecclesiastical interference, or domination, (which the Primate was well aware of) alone prevented him from aspiring to a distinguished place in the councils of Great Britain. He was brother to Andrew Stone, who possessed considerable knowledge and ability, a principal figure in the court of Frederic, Prince of Wales. Mr. Pery at first acted with government, or, what was then called, the Primate's

party; and afterwards, in the session of 1755, rendered himself conspicuous, by opposing, though with a small minority, colonel Conway,* then secretary to the Marquis of Hartington. Party-writers said, that this opposition was merely in compliance with the wishes of his friend, the Primate. But, if history in general is to be read with caution, the political history of the day should ever be regarded with particular distrust. Mr. Pery could little brook such subjugation. He was, sometime after, the leader of, what was called, the Flying Squadron; a party attached neither to the court nor the opposition, and occasionally joining both. When acting with administration, he was offered the place of Solicitor-General, but he did not chuse to be their servant, and disdained to clothe himself in the spoils of his friend, Mr. Gore, (Lord Annaly) who then held that place.—He was master of his profession; and not only that, but an admirable Member of Parliament. It may be justly said, that there was scarcely any great public measure adopted in Ireland, whilst Lord Pery engaged in business, which had not its seminal principle in his comprehensive mind. The corn laws, the free trade, the independence of the Irish Parliament, the tenantry bill, were framed with his assistance, and would not have been carried without it. The tillage of Ireland may be regarded as his child.—The superiority which a certain rectitude of mind and understanding has over talents and pertinacity, is, sometimes, evinced in no small degree. During the discussion of a question, which Mr. Pery had favoured, and distinguished himself by its support, he was answered by Secretary Hamilton, in a speech of unexampled eloquence. He rose directly after Hamilton had sat down, not, he said, to reply, but at once to declare, that he was convinced.

Whoever is well acquainted with the House of Commons, knows, that there are too many persons of mere talents, who would have displayed no such ingenuousness; for, to combat, at all events, and concede no point whatever, seems to be an established maxim with the leaders of debate in general. Mr. Pery, by acting in a contrary manner, divided the glory of the day with Hamilton; the latter carried the palm of genius, and Pery that of wisdom. In truth, he saw further before him than almost any man of his time. In good sense he was inferior to none; in fortitude, superior to most men. He delivered the boldest sentiments in the calmest manner, so that fortitude did not seem the effort of

* Afterwards Marshal Conway.

his mind, but its ordinary temperature. He spoke with peculiar gravity and dignity, and feeling. His arguments, or their principal points, were fully, but briefly stated. On no occasion were his speeches declamatory. He sometimes rose above others, not less by the firmness of his temper, than his disdain of mere rhetorical flourishes. When the right of England to make laws for Ireland was mentioned in the House of Commons, (some years previous to Mr. Grattan's address on that subject) a general disposition prevailed to decline giving any opinion on the question. There was certainly much speaking, but the claims of England were alluded to, in similies and metaphors, the result of habitual subserviency, and false or illusive eloquence. But Pery said, " that he saw no reason for making use of any indistinct, or figurative language. He would speak out,—the Parliament of Great Britain had no right to make law for Ireland." In these days some persons may smile at such an instance being adduced of political courage. But, to judge of other times by our own, is the characteristic of a mind, presumptuous and superficial.—He was master of that great science of a genuine statesman, the doctrine of non-interference. He knew that legislation, like every thing else, had its limits, and that much was to be left to the unrestricted sense of mankind. He never was a minister, nor wished to be one. Perhaps he knew some of his countrymen too well, to be either their idol, or their minister; but he often instructed, often controlled, or checked, the members of administration; and, it is no disproportionate language to say, that he was frequently resorted to by different classes of men in public life, almost as an oracle. He was, perhaps, one of the best Speakers that ever sat in the chair of any House of Commons. His mind seemed to keep pace with every question, and follow the debate in all its various forms. It was not an anxiety for a particular motion, but a general parental care of, and solicitude for, the well-being, the dignity of the House of Commons, and wisdom of its deliberations. Hence, though alwaysremembering that he was the servant of the House, not its dictator, it was perfectly easy for those, who were accustomed to him, and took a part in business, to know at once, from his looks, whilst they were speaking, whether their speeches, in his opinion, gave an additional light, or interest to the debate.

There was no interruption, no impatience; but, to make use of a dramatic allusion, he so blended himself with the entire business of the scene, that

an intelligent debater, by observing him, almost instantly felt where he was most right, or discovered where he was most wrong. He preserved order, without encroaching on the popular nature of the House of Commons. He suffered no usurpation, or ministerial legerdemain, from the treasury bench. The old members were respected, the young were encouraged, all were attended to.* In private life, notwithstanding his grave and serious demeanour, no man was ever more friendly, more benign, and, to the young people, more accommodating, or more pleasingly instructive and indulgent.

To transmit his, or any man's, name to after ages, these imperfect pages are, I am perfectly sensible, totally inadequate. But, as long as Ireland retains any memory of its parliament, or those who, from the best motives, swayed its deliberations, it must venerate the name of Lord Pery. Such were the principal men at this time, 1761, in the House of Commons.—Mr. Malone had now passed his sixtieth year, and did not take the lead, which he formerly did. However, he occasionally spoke, and, on particular occasions, with such superiority of clear, unaffected, and almost irresistible eloquence, as convinced Mr. Gerard Hamilton of the justness of that eulogium, which his predecessor in office, Lord George Sackville, had pronounced on his talents, in the year 1753. There were also several most respectable members of the Lower House, who were excellent Parliament men, paid the utmost attention to the business of the House, and, on all occasions, supported the character of independent, useful country gentlemen, Mr. Robert French particularly, Mr. Brownlow, the unvarying friend of Lord Charlemont, and his country, through life, and whom I shall mention hereafter, Sir Lucius O'Brien, and others. Of the lawyers, Mr. Dennis, afterwards Lord Tracton, Mr. Fitzgibbon, father of the late Lord Chancellor Clare, men eminent for their professional knowledge and ability, and who would have been respected in any free enlightened assembly in Europe;—Mr. Harwood, most deservedly celebrated for the acuteness of his understanding, his pleasantry, and original wit and humour. There were other gentlemen who, as has been always the fashion in Ireland, were bred to the bar, but did not pursue it as a profession,

* When Mr. Fox was in Dublin, during part of the winter of 1777, he was, as I have been assured, much struck with, and spoke in the most favourable terms of, Mr. Pery's conduct in the chair of the House of Commons, which he considered almost as a model.

or, if they did, not ardently, and were much better known in society, or the House of Commons, than in the courts of law. I shall mention Mr. Robert Fitzgerald particularly, as he was one of the few gentlemen in Ireland, who at that time cultivated polite literature, and the fine arts, and was much respected by Lord Charlemont, whose taste, in some measure, corresponded with his, though their political sentiments were different. Mr. Fitzgerald was descended from the antient houses of Desmond and Kildare, confessedly one of the most illustrious families in Europe. The particular branch, from which he claimed his descent, has been for centuries distinguished by the appellation of Knights of Kerry.* He came into Parliament at a very early period of life, and was afterwards judge of the Admiralty in Ireland, a place which, at that time at least, required but little attendance.

In the year 1765, being a man of a most classical mind, he visited Athens, the Greek islands,† Constantinople, and returned by Warsaw, to pay his respects to Stanislaus Poniatowski, the gay and accomplished king of Poland, whose court, at that period, was equally eminent for its elegance and its dissipation. To the Polish monarch he was personally known in 1754, when that sovereign, then a private gentleman, visited England. He was also, as I have been informed, much liked and esteemed by Edward, Duke of York. In the House of Commons, he acquitted himself with great respectability, and generally, though certainly not always, voted with the court. Between Doctor Andrews, the Provost, and him there subsisted a long and uninterrupted friendship, and the former corresponded with him when abroad. Andrews' letters from Spain were, as I have been told, peculiarly agreeable. Mr. Fitzgerald always formed part of that society, so celebrated for their lively talents, their convivial wit and humour, and which is even now (1803) so fondly remembered by its few, very few, surviving members. They were, in general, excellent scholars, and men of the world. An uncommon union. When Rigby resided in Ireland, he lived with that society almost entirely. Mr. Fitzgerald possessed an excellent taste, particularly in paintings, of which he had formed a good

* See Appendix B.

† He is mentioned by Doctor Chandler in his travels through Asia Minor, who met him and Mr. Wilbraham at Smyrna, on their return from Athens.

collection. Towards the close of his life he resided much in the country, which he well knew how to improve and adorn.* His manners were very gentleman-like and pleasing.

Lord Charlemont attended the House of Lords constantly this session, though there was no question whatever debated there of the slightest consequence. Lord Bowes, the Chancellor, was a man of considerable ability. He was a native of England, but pursued the profession of the law in this kingdom; having passed successively through the offices of Solicitor, Attorney-General, and Lord Chief Baron, he was, on the death of Lord Jocelyn, promoted to the peerage, and custody of the great seal. He presided in the House of Lords with dignity; and his eloquence, whenever he had occasion to exert it in that limited sphere, but, particularly, when he had attended the bar, was applauded by the best judges.†

The Earl of Kildare, afterwards Marquis, and Duke of Leinster, premier peer of Ireland, had great weight and authority in the House of Lords; not merely from his rank, considerable as it was, but from the honourable and generous part which he always took in the affairs of Ireland. He seldom, if ever, spoke in public; he particularly distinguished himself in the political struggle of 1753, and, disdaining to crouch to an intriguing and ambitious prelate, or the viceroy,‡ whom, it is to be lamented, that prelate too much influenced, he presented a memorial to the late king, which, in respectful, but spirited language, stated the grievances of Ireland, and particularly the mal-administration of Primate Stone. According to the words of the memorial "His grace had made use of his influence to invest himself with temporal power, and affected to be a second Woolsey in the state." The memorial concluded in these words: "your Majesty's interest in the hearts of your loyal subjects is likely to be affected by those arbitrary measures, as few care to represent their country in parliament, where a junto of two or three men disconcert

* See Arthur Young's travels through Ireland.

† A letter from the celebrated Bishop Berkeley, published in a work entitled "Literary Relics," mentions his speech on the trial of Lord Santry before the Lords, (he was then attorney-general) in the highest strains of panegyric.

‡ The Duke of Dorset.

every measure taken for the good of the subject, or the cause of common liberty. Your memoralist has nothing to ask of your Majesty, neither place, civil or military, neither employment, or preferment for himself, or his friends; and begs leave to add, that nothing but his duty to your Majesty, and his natural hatred to such detestable monopoly, could have induced your memoralist to this presumption."

This remonstrance, which seems evidently to have been dictated by the heart, and forms altogether a singular contrast to the gaudy rhetoric, and sickly air of some addresses of modern times, occasioned much surprize, and gave great offence to part of the English cabinet. Seldom, very seldom indeed, have the members of that cabinet cause to be so offended. Excepting some occasional, and necessarily protracted visits to England, where he was as highly respected, as illustriously allied,* Lord Kildare resided in Ireland almost constantly. He not only supported his senatorial character with uniform independence, but, as a private nobleman, was truly excellent, living either in Dublin or among his numerous tenantry, whom he encouraged and protected. In every situation he was of the most unequivocal utility to his country; at Carton, in the Irish House of Lords, or that of England, (he was a member of both,) or speaking the language of truth and justice in the closet of his sovereign.

No man ever understood his part in society better than he did; he was conscious of his rank, and upheld it to the utmost; but let it be added, that he was remarkable for the dignified, attractive politeness, or, what the French call, nobleness of his manners. So admirable was he in this respect, that when he entertained some Lord Lieutenants, the general declaration, on leaving the room was, that, from the peculiar grace of his behaviour, he appeared to be more the Viceroy than they did. He was some years older than Lord Charlemont, and took a lead in politics when that nobleman was abroad, and for some time after his return to Ireland; but when the House of Lords became more the scene of action, they, with the late Lord Moira, generally co-operated; and, in truth, three noblemen so independent, this country, indeed any country, has seldom seen. Lord Halifax was personally liked, as a Viceroy

* He was married, in 1746, to Lady Emily Lennox, sister to the Duke of Richmond, at that time one of the most celebrated beauties of the English court.

of courteous demeanour will, for a certain time at least, always be. Mr. Gerard Hamilton captivated, and dazzled the House of Commons, on one or two particular occasions, by the superior brilliancy of his speeches, which, from the testimony of every one who heard them, were acknowledged models of rhetorical excellence. But the session of Parliament was tranquil, so was the metropolis, according to the declaration of the Lord Lieutenant from the throne. Munster, or part of it, was disturbed by a set of miserable insurgents, called white boys, an account of whom is amply detailed elsewhere. With the personal history of Lord Charlemont they form no particular connection; but in any history which relates to Ireland they cannot be passed over, for it is the duty of every impartial narrator to explore the source of all such insurrections, whether it is accidental, or permanent, and not confound the evils which are local and transitory, with those which have their origin in the government itself. To insult, to degrade a people, as far as it can be done, by disgusting epithets at first, and by sanguinary penal laws afterwards, is a task of not much difficulty. To examine into, and rectify abuses, to repress outrages, and control oppression, to look into our own conduct as well as that of others, and combat insurrection, not by an overloaded statute book, but wholesome laws, and preventive policy, is a duty from which ignorant, infuriated authority will always recede, and enlightened, beneficient power will always embrace. Government acted with wisdom and moderation, in most instances, to these deluded people; but it is to be lamented that its benign purposes were too often frustrated, and its best regulations rendered ineffectual, by bigotry, and domestic tyranny, magnifying every crime, and expanding every village wrong into a charge against a particular country, or the disorder of a province into more than insinuations against the good faith and loyalty of the kingdom.

I had written thus far, and intended pursuing the subject somewhat more in detail, when, fortunately for the reader, I met, among Lord Charlemont's papers, his account of these unhappy insurgents, which well deserves attention.

" During the administration of Lord Halifax, Ireland was dangerously disturbed in its southern and northern regions. In the south, principally in the counties of Kilkenny, Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary, the white boys now made their first appearance; those white boys, who have ever since occasionally disturbed the public tranquillity, without any rational method having been as yet pursued to eradicate this disgraceful evil. When we consider, that the very

same district has been, for the long space of seven and twenty years, liable to frequent returns of the same disorder, into which it has continually relapsed, in spite of all the violent remedies, from time to time administered by our political quacks, we cannot doubt but that some real, peculiar, and topical cause must exist; and yet neither the removal, nor even the investigation of this cause, has ever once been seriously attempted. Laws of the most sanguinary and unconstitutional nature have been enacted. The country has been disgraced, and exasperated by frequent and bloody executions, and the gibbet, that perpetual resource of weak and cruel legislators, has groaned under the multitude of starving criminals: yet, while the cause is suffered to exist, the effects will ever follow. The amputation of limbs will never eradicate a peccant humour, which must be sought in its source, and there remedied.

As the insurgents were all of the Catholic religion, an almost universal idea was entertained among the more zealous Protestants, and encouraged by interested men, that French gold, and French intrigue, were at the bottom of this insurrection; the real causes were, indeed, not difficult to be ascertained. Exorbitant rents, low wages, want of employment in a country destitute of manufacture, where desolation and famine were the effects of fertility; where the rich gifts of a bountiful mother were destructive to her children, and served only to tantalize them; where oxen supplied the place of men, and, by leaving little room for cultivation, while they enriched their pampered owners, starved the miserable remnant of thinly-scattered inhabitants; farms of enormous extent let by their rapacious and indolent proprietors to monopolizing land jobbers, by whom small portions of them were again let, and re-let to intermediate oppressors, and by them subdivided for five times their value, among the wretched starvers upon potatoes and water, taxes yearly increasing, and tithes, which the Catholic, without any possible benefit, unwillingly pays in addition to his priest money. Misery! Oppression! and famine. These were undoubtedly the first, and original causes, obvious to the slightest inspection, though resolutely denied, and every public investigation into them impudently frustrated by those whose sordid interest opposed their removal. Misery is ever restless, and the man who is destitute both of enjoyment and hope, can never be a good and quiet subject. In our unchristian plantations of the West Indies, was any doubt ever entertained concerning the cause of a Negro insur-

rection; the wretch, who cannot possibly change for the worse, will always be greedy of innovation. Yet, though such were the undoubted sources of the spirit which prevailed, and still unfortunately prevails, in many of our southern counties, I will not pretend to assert, that French intrigue may not *sometimes* have interfered to aggravate and inflame the fever already subsisting. We well know the usual policy of that court to seek, and to increase disturbance. We have reason to believe, that secret service-money is never refused, where there is a possibility of its producing any, even distant and precarious effect, neither can we suppose, that there is a country upon earth, where agents may not be procured for money; and more especially in the south of Ireland, where religious prejudice, present distress, and the sanguine, though fallacious hope of relief, co-operate with avarice, and almost serve as an excuse for venality. In a country so circumstanced, it is by no means improbable, that the court of France may have been tempted to tamper with an unhappy and discontented people; and one fact, the truth of which I cannot doubt, would almost induce me to believe, that, upon one occasion at least, a small sum of French money was hazarded in Ireland. During the course of these insurrections a *very* considerable number of French crowns were received at the Custom House, which could not well have been the result of trade, since little or no specie is imported from France, in exchange for our commodities; and more especially, since they were all of them *new* crowns, of the same date, and coined after any possible importation could be made by the course of commerce.

Towards the close of 1762, or rather the commencement of 1763, Lord Charlemont renewed his acquaintance with the Duc de Nivernois, whom he then found ambassador at London, and negotiating, or rather concluding, the treaty of peace with France. The Duke resided in Albemarle-street, where Lord Charlemont was always most cordially received. Of this nobleman, so much admired by Lord Chesterfield, so much regarded by Lord Charlemont, and so esteemed at Rome, at Berlin, at London, and in Paris, I shall endeavour to give some account. He was a Mancini, an illustrious Roman name, and perfectly familiar to all who are conversant in the history of Louis the Fourteenth. His grandfather was Duke de Nevers, brother to that renowned beauty, Madame de Mazarin, and Maria Mancini, whose agreeable wit and accomplishments for some time enthralled the affections of the young French monarch. On the

extinction of the Gonzaga family, Cardinal Mazarin, to whom the Duke de Nevers was nephew, purchased that duchy, the best part, if not all the province of Nivernois, and, on his death, left his young relation, then a peer of France, in possession of great wealth, and extensive territory. He was a poet, and a man of wit. His grandson, Monsieur de Nivernois, (who did not assume the title of Nevers, although his father died in 1768) was appointed ambassador to Rome in 1746, and staid there several years. The embassy to Rome was, during the reigns of Louis XIV. and XV. considered as one of the first, if not the highest, in diplomatic rank. He acquitted himself entirely to the satisfaction of his own court: the people at Rome looked on him as a Roman, whilst his manners, his learning, and conversation, rendered him peculiarly acceptable to Lambertini, (Benedict the Fourteenth). It is almost needless to say, that he captivated Lord Charlemont, whose taste and studies, and suavity of disposition, were, in a great measure, similar to his own. Although he did not succeed in the object of his mission at Berlin, (for Frederic had taken his measures previous to the Duke's arrival) he was not the less honoured and distinguished by that monarch, and his brother, Prince Henry. They never spoke of him but with applause. When ambassador in London, D'Eon justly says, that however discordant the opinions of the people were as to the peace, there was no difference whatever as to the pacificator; for all ranks seemed to vie with each other in their admiration of, and respect for him. He went every where, and was liked every where. He was at Bath; at Newmarket; was elected Fellow of the Royal Society; and honoured with the degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Oxford.

He was a little man, with an agreeable, open, and engaging countenance, but so extremely thin, that some of his friends at Paris always called him the political Sylph. When he first landed, with his suite, at Dover, two or three old sailors were walking along the beach. Observing the bustle, "Hey! what's this?" said one.—"Oh! the French Ambassador! He has just come out of the boat." "Just Heaven!" exclaimed another, "to what have we reduced the French during this war! Only conceive. When I was prisoner in France, two or three years ago, that emaciated ambassador, whom you see like a withered apple, John, yonder, was then by far one of the fattest men who walked the streets in Paris. He absolutely waddled." When this was told to the Duke, he was

delighted, and used often to relate it at his own table, as a most happy instance of national humour.*

In consequence of repeated solicitations to be recalled, for his health, naturally delicate, was almost destroyed by the air of London, he returned, after an eight months' residence in England, to Paris. He continued in that metropolis, or its environs, for more than thirty years afterwards, cultivating letters, and all the refined pleasures of society, but not living, as many men of letters do, in a cold, fastidious indifference to the welfare of his country. On the contrary, though much esteemed, and liked by Louis XV. and one of the principal ornaments of his court, he opposed the inclinations of that monarch, when he considered them as militating against France; and, in conjunction with some most respectable noblemen, took a generous, but decided, part against the system of Chancellor Maupeou. Whilst engaged in this opposition, a circumstance occurred, which I shall take leave to mention, as it is in some measure illustrative of his urbanity and polished wit. Louis XV. held a bed of justice, as it was called, and either then, or in one of the audience rooms at Versailles, forbad the members of the Parliament of Paris to trouble him with any further remonstrances; "for," added he, with a most emphatic tone, "I shall never change." His favourite, the beautiful, unfortunate Madame de Barry, and the Duke of Nivernois, were present at this scene. Some days after, she met the Duke, and addressing him with great gaiety, "Well, Monsieur de Nivernois," said she, "you may surely now give up your opposition; for you yourself heard the King say, that he *would never change*." "Certainly, Madam," he replied, "I did hear him; and indeed no wonder, for he was *looking at you*."

He was, when far advanced in life, (for he was then some years beyond seventy) at length called to the councils of his Sovereign. M. de Malsherbes, the Count de la Luzerne, and one or two more, were his assistants. It was then too late. The time of the Court had been long wasted in the most wretched intrigues; and the toilette of that most fascinating of all women, Madame de

* D'Eon has mentioned this, but imperfectly. I heard it many years ago, from the late Dominick T. Esq. who had it from Col. Drumgold's own lips. Drumgold landed with the Duke, and was his confidential friend. It is to him that Lord Lyttleton addressed the copy of Verses, which so agreeably depicts the character of Mons. de Nivernois.

Polignac, was, however originally adverse to her inclinations, alternately become, with that of her royal friend, Marie Antoinette, the scene of frivolous, ridiculous appointments; appointments, in which vanity, levity, personal whim or caprice, were alone consulted; and the dread exigence of the moment either not understood, or feebly administered to. The waters were out; they had overspread the land; and it required more talents than fell to the share of the Duke de Nivernois, and his coadjutors, had they been all even in the prime of life, to give the repose of a moment to the shattered political vessel of France. The Duke lived long enough to see his well-intentioned sovereign, the unhappy Antoinette, whose beauty, and tenderness of heart, were once the subject of every eulogy, and the angelic Princess Elizabeth, dragged, in the midst of Paris, to the scaffold, by monsters in a human form. Accustomed as this world has ever been to spectacles of sorrow, such a downfall of all earthly grandeur, such a fell vicissitude, it perhaps never before witnessed.

But what is singular in the history of Monsieur de Nivernois' life, is, that although remaining at Paris, he survived even the multiplied atrocities and murders of Robespierre. How he escaped, it is not very easy to conceive, as he had every requisite for the guillotine, which that dæmon so often looked for in the victims of his tyranny—high rank, venerable age, goodness of mind, love of letters, and love of his country. Yet, with all these qualifications for being murdered in such a time, he was not, but lived to publish several of his works,* and died very peaceably, in 1798, at the advanced age of eighty-two!

* They are miscellaneous and unequal. His Fables are by far his best work. He translated the entire poem of Ricciardetto, in which there is great sprightliness, and Pope's Essay on Man, in which there are many excellent lines. He seemed fond of English authors, and gave to the French, part of Milton, of Gay, &c. Lady A. Barnard's very pleasing ballad of Old Robin Grey was translated by him, but far inferior to the original. He also translated the charming Ode of Mrs. Greville to Indifference. To this lady he shewed uncommon respect, whenever she resided, as she frequently did, at Paris. The author of these Memoirs is happy in this slight opportunity of expressing his sense of her great merit; he was for several years honoured with her acquaintance, and now looks back with pleasure and gratitude to the many agreeable and instructive hours which he passed in her society when in England, but more particularly in Dublin, amongst some friends who were deservedly very dear to her. He can venture to add, that the sensibility of her feeling mind could not be exceeded by her talents for poetry the most graceful, and conversation always interesting, always engaging. Her excellent daughter, the Lady Crewe, is now immortalized by Mr. Fox's incomparable Verses to her.

Politics sometimes impose a most restrictive embargo on society in London, or rather, when they arrive to a certain height, divide its stream into two separate and distinct channels—that of the Court, and the Opposition. The Earl of Bute was at that time formidably opposed, and Lord Charlemont lived more with his assailants than the Ambassador in Albemarle-street. However, they met frequently; and from the communication with France being again opened, several men of taste and science came to England. Among others, Duclos, who was well received, and whom, I believe, Lord Charlemont met in Albemarle-street. Baretti, whom his Lordship had originally prompted to try his fortunes in London, was then in Italy; but Baretti's acquaintance and friends, Doctor Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, &c. were uniformly esteemed and regarded by Lord Charlemont. His union with Hogarth * was maintained, in spite of Wilkes and Churchill; and, altogether, his connections with the political or literary world were much extended.

During this visit to England, he often met an old intimate, Stevenson Hall, of Skelton, in Yorkshire. This gentleman, at least as well known by the name of Crazy Hall, from certain comic tales which he published, and gave that appellation to, abounded with wit and humour; was perfectly versed in the classics; had been much abroad; and, when not overpowered by spleen and ennui, which was too often the case, a very jolly and entertaining companion. A year or two preceding this, he had given to the public his "Fables for grown Gentlemen; or, Fables for every Day in the Week;" † an original performance, formed on the model of Fontaine; and, in point of ease, shrewdness of remark, and thorough knowledge of the world, not unworthy of that great master. Fontaine's *naivété*, indeed, neither he, nor any one else, could equal; and had Hall even caught it, the genius of the English language could scarcely have incorporated with it. However, this publication gained Hall much celebrity—a celebrity which he took care effectually to dissipate, or at least not to augment, by a succession of poems; sometimes not very intelligible, often very witty, but almost uniformly overflowing with the wildest and grossest licen-

* There are several works, by Hogarth, at Charlemont House, Dublin. No one could be a warmer friend, and patron of his, than Lord Charlemont ever was.

† So they were originally denominated when published, seven only, in quarto, by Dodsley.

tiousness. In truth, he became a literary suicide; he destroyed his own reputation; and, with the justest pretensions, in point of talents, to public favour, he is now very imperfectly known. But with all his oddities, and irregularities, Hall was a man of real genius, and much good nature. He was perfectly well known to many ennobled bon vivants, and elegant voluptuaries of the day; drank champagne with the wits, Zachary Moore, old Hewitt,* and Sterne, to whom he was ever a steady and tender friend. Though forming, in some respects, a singular contrast to the refined and polished Ambassador whom I have, perhaps, too long dwelt on, he was very acceptable to Lord Charlemont, in whose letters he is frequently mentioned.

On the departure of Lord Halifax from Ireland, the government was committed, as usual, to Lords Justices, who, on this occasion, were the primate Stone, and the speaker, Mr. Ponsonby. And now another insurrection broke out, as that which had taken place in the spring of this year, 1763, was confined to the South, and the insurgents were all Catholics, the present insurrection arose in the North, and all the actors in it were Protestants, or Dissenters. What a lamentable picture of Ireland, and the effects of negligent, or mal-administration, do these repeated and puny rebellions exhibit? The exactions of the clergy in their collection of tithes, and still more, the heavy taxes laid on the country, for the making, and repairing of roads, were, according to Lord Charlemont, the principal causes of these disturbances. His Lordship adds, "The encroachments of the laity were made without even the color of right. Nothing is more certain, than that it is highly advantageous to every country, and particularly to one emerging out of an uncultivated state, that good roads should be made through every part of it; but, in laying out such roads, the public advantage should be invariably, and exclusively pursued, so that it should be obvious to the people, that the taxes levied upon them were expended really, and intrinsically, to their advantage. In this, however, the gentlemen were, in many instances undoubtedly partial and oppressive, as, by their influence in the grand juries, presentments were too frequently procured, merely for the emolument and convenience of particular persons, and by no means with any

* Hall has not forgot him in his Crazy Tales; he is also mentioned by Brydone, in his Tour through Sicily.

view to the advantage of the community. So true it is, that the people, though in the end they usually put themselves in the wrong, have almost always at the beginning some reason even for their most irregular sallies. As Cæsar says of himself, in Shakespeare's tragedy, they "never do wrong but with just cause," and even upon this occasion, they had without doubt originally good reason for that ill temper, which now urged them to the most outrageous excesses. As governor of the county of Armagh, Lord Charlemont thought it his duty to interfere. "The popular interest," says his Lordship, "which I have ever possessed in that county, and which, I confess, was dear to me, might certainly be injured by such interference; but it has ever been my principle that, when duty calls, popularity should always be risked, and more particularly upon this occasion, where that influence might be of service in appeasing the people." The insurgents were now formidable. They appeared in bodies of four or five hundred, headed, it was said, by farmers of respectable property. All wore oak boughs in their hats, from whence their denomination of oak boys. According to the ancient practice of all insurgents in Ireland, they obliged such obnoxious persons, clergy or laity, as fell into their hands, to swear, that the former should not levy more than a certain proportion of tithe; and the latter, that they would not assess the county at more than a stipulated rate. Whim, and a propensity to jokes and gibes, predominate among the lower Irish on all occasions. They obliged Dr. Clarke, a respectable clergyman, who, they alleged, was the first to exact more than he was entitled to in tithes, to go on the top of his own coach, and drew him through various parts of the country. Infinite were the hisses and scurril jests, as the doctor passed along. For it is to be observed that, though they talked much, though they insulted several gentlemen, erected gallowses, and menaced ineffable perdition to all their enemies, no violent cruelty was exercised, nor, as Lord Charlemont said, was a single life lost, or any person maimed in the county of Armagh; a species of conduct totally opposite to that of the southern insurgents; but which his Lordship ascribed, not to any diversity of religion, but to the oppression under which the unfortunate creatures in the south laboured. "A rebellion of slaves" continued he, "is always more bloody, than an insurrection of freemen."

But the populace in any country, when once thrown into action, know no

limits; matters began, of course, to wear a more serious aspect. Lord Charlemont set out for the north, but, previous to his departure, waited on Primate Stone; who was profuse, as usual, in his panegyric on Lord Charlemont's conduct, and promised him all the assistance in the power of government. His Lordship was visited at Newry by many respectable gentlemen, who advised him not to go farther without a strong military guard. He replied, that he could not think of travelling through his own country with a military force; but, as the gentlemen still urged the imminent danger of pursuing his journey without one, he so far acquiesced in their kind suggestions, as to consent to sleep at Newry that night, provided they would send some intelligent persons to examine the country, and report in the morning what appeared to them to be the state of it; that, if the insurgents shewed a hostile disposition, he would go forward, not with a military guard, but with them, the gentlemen of Newry, if they thought proper to accompany him.—To this they cheerfully agreed. The persons sent out stated, that they had seen the chiefs of the insurgents, who professed the utmost veneration for his Lordship, and that to molest him was totally foreign to their thoughts. Lord Charlemont then set out, attended only by two gentlemen, who had accompanied him from Dublin, and two servants, all armed. He suffered no molestation whatever; but, as he drew near to Armagh, found a gallows erected, and so constructed across the road, that it was necessary to pass under it. This species of anti-triumphal trophy was of old establishment, however, and meant to do honour, as one of the insurgents afterwards observed to the judges, especially their friend, Justice Robinson, who was expected at the assizes. At Armagh, Lord Charlemont met the gentlemen of the county, some of whom were under great alarm. His Lordship's appearance among them, and the promise which he stated, on the part of government, to give immediate assistance, dispelled their fears, and, at their request, he wrote to the Lord Justices for some additional troops. In answer to this demand, Primate Stone wrote the following humane and judicious letter:

" Dublin Castle, July 28th, 1763.

" My Lord,

" I have this moment received your Lordship's letter, by express, dated the 27th, from Armagh. I have communicated it to the Speaker, (who is arrived

from Mallow) and he desires me to make his compliments to your Lordship, and directs me to assure you, that he has the fullest sense, as I most certainly have, of your Lordship's wise and spirited conduct upon this occasion. We have ordered a regiment of foot to march from Galway, (the nearest place where any foot are quartered) with all possible expedition, to those quarters, in the county of Armagh, which your Lordship has pointed out. The regiment is the 10th, General Sandford's, consisting of ten companies, and near four hundred men; two troops of Light Dragoons are also ordered from Clonmell. These orders shall be sent by express to the troops, and all possible expedition will be used. I most heartily wish your Lordship as much success and satisfaction as I am sure you will acquire honor and esteem, from this expedition.

" The council have this day ordered a general admonitory proclamation, to dissuade the people from following their wicked leaders, and informing them of the extent and nature of their guilt, which is ordered to be read in all the churches, and meetings of Protestant Dissenters. It was thought proper to begin with a proclamation of this nature, before we proceed towards offering rewards for apprehending particular persons. It will be happy if there could be a dispersion of the great bodies; and the deluded, and, of course, the least guilty, would forsake their leaders, who will be the most proper objects for legal punishment; and your Lordship will, of yourself, be aware of the inconveniences that will attend the filling of the gaols; and if we can point at the capital offenders principally, it will, upon all accounts, be the best.

" I am, my Lord,

" With the utmost truth and regard,

" Your Lordship's very faithful,

" and obedient humble Servant,

" GEORGE ARMAGH.

" P. S. What I mention in the last paragraph is only a hint in private, for your Lordship's discretion is entirely relied on by the Lords Justices and Council."

This letter, in conjunction with Lord Charlemont's benign prudence and conciliating manner, had the happy effect of smoothing many a wrinkled front; and, notwithstanding the hourly rumours of an approaching increased force of the insurgents, and the most dismal auguries of what was to follow, the assizes at Armagh were held in the utmost tranquillity, and Judge Robinson, having escaped all the honors which *his friends* so kindly intended to confer on him, and his brother Justice, delivered a wise and perspicuous charge on high treason, adapted to the humblest capacity, which, Lord Charlemont said, had the most salutary influence. Primate Stone's advice, as to seizing the principals of the insurrection, corresponded exactly with his Lordship's ideas on all such subjects, and many of them were sent to prison, without any interruption of the public quiet; it was, in short, restored to the county of Armagh. Lord Charlemont went from thence to Tyrone, where much greater agitation prevailed, but good sense, and an honest desire of administering justice with mercy, predominated, and in a certain, nor long-protracted period, no farther disturbance was given on the part of the insurgents. But no sooner had public security taken place, than the dread of returning, and augmented depredations raged, for some time, without control, and Lord Charlemont's molestation arose, not from the Oak Boys, but from some of the gentlemen, who, he said, would have imprisoned one half of that populous county. He gradually, however, calmed their apprehensions, and, at length, they began to sleep quietly in their beds, although the county gaol did not overflow with criminals. Of this new alarm, it is but justice to state, that Lord Charlemont spoke with his usual candour; he considered it as by no means surprizing, nor unreasonable. " The acts of violence," said he, " which had been committed, and still more, the threats which had been thrown out, were indeed sufficient to justify much apprehension; and if I was, less than others, affected with fear, it was probably because I had not been in the way of seeing those violences, or of being for a long time hourly liable to them." As an instance of the undistinguished hostility with which the populace, when once infuriated, will assail the just, as well as the unjust, he mentioned the case of Mr. William Stewart, the truly respectable member for the county of Tyrone, father of the present representative, who having long since, (1768) succeeded him in that high situation, may deservedly be considered as one of the most moderate, dignified, and independent, country gentlemen ever yet sent to

the Irish Parliament. But Mr. W. Stewart having expended much money in the making of public roads, and solely from his regard (contrary to the general practice) of the public utility, was obliged, by the fury of the mob, to banish himself from his county; whilst his house was repeatedly assailed in his absence, and the assailants as firmly, though calmly, dispersed by, to make use of Lord Charlemont's own words, " the incomparable spirit, and excellent conduct of his wife." This gentleman was one of the two who accompanied him from Dublin to Armagh, and between Mr. Stewart's excellent son, and his Lordship, the most entire friendship was uniformly maintained.

The insurrection had spread to the counties of Derry and Fermanagh, and was put down there also. But, in Armagh and Tyrone, where Lord Charlemont took the lead, public tranquillity was restored without a single shot being fired, or the death of one man.—The happy consequences of a temperate, but firm, spirit; a timely and judicious interposition of the law; and the entire conviction of the people, that those who were necessarily opposed to them acted, not from a spirit of persecution, or hatred towards them, but real amity, and a conscientious regard for that common weal, in the safety of which the rights of the peasant, as well as of the prince, are equally concerned.—After some months residence in the country, Lord Charlemont returned to Dublin, where the Earl of Northumberland arrived in the September following. Mr. Gerard Hamilton continued to act as secretary. The title of Northumberland is blended with all our earliest ideas of chivalry and romance. Sir John Davies, in tracing the different features of our national character, a delineation than which nothing can be in general more exact, says, " The people of this land, (Ireland) both English and Irish, did ever love and desire to be governed by great persons." After a lapse of two hundred years, or nearly so, Sir John's portraiture in this, as well as other respects, has lost nothing of its fidelity, or its colouring. The magnificence, splendor, and generosity of the ancient Percys was revived; the metropolis was enchanted, and wherever the personal influence of the Lord Lieutenant, or his truly noble Countess, could extend, all was gratitude and exultation. Happy for Ireland it had been, if as warm and generous attention to its civil and religious polity had prevailed in the English cabinet, as munificence of disposition manifested itself in the castle of Dublin; but the kingdom, altogether, was ill at ease. The country, if we are to credit the representations of some gentlemen in the

House of Commons, especially Mr. John Fitzgibbon,* was wretched; yet, compared to former days, Ireland was at least not losing ground, but the contrary.

On the day that Lord Charlemont waited on the Earl of Northumberland at the castle, he was requested by his Excellency to meet him in his closet as soon as the levee was over. Lord Charlemont did so, when the Lord Lieutenant, after many expressions of personal regard, complimented him highly on the part which he had recently taken in the north, and concluded with saying, that his Majesty was so perfectly sensible of the services he had performed there, as to order him, his Majesty's lieutenant, to offer an earldom to his Lordship, which waited his acceptance. Lord Charlemont said, that the King had most condescendingly overrated any trifling services which, as a good subject, it was his duty to perform to the utmost of his power; that he felt his Majesty's benignity towards him with the deepest gratitude, but, as to the proffered earldom, he begged his Excellency's permission to consider the subject for a day or two. At the next interview, Lord Northumberland having stated that the offer of promotion having proceeded directly from the King himself, any declension of such promotion might possibly be construed into disrespect, Lord Charlemont acquiesced entirely in that suggestion, and added that, in accepting this mark of his Majesty's goodness, the Lord Lieutenant must permit him to make a positive stipulation, without which he wished that things might go no farther. The stipulation was, that this advancement of rank should in no wise be considered as influencing his parliamentary conduct, which was to remain as unrestricted, as if the offer had never been made. Lord Northumberland replied, that nothing of the sort was ever in contemplation; and then went on to say, that, as he could claim no merit whatever from the promotion, being only the instrument of the King's orders, he hoped Lord Charlemont would permit him, as an old friend, to testify his personal respect for him, by pointing out some mode of obliging him. Lord Charlemont, with many thanks, declined troubling his Excellency, declaring, that he had no object in view of that sort; when, on the Viceroy's repeating his request, he said, that as he did not wish to appear insensible of his excellency's kindness, he begged to be appointed a trustee of the linen board, a situation which he mentioned, as being attended with no emolument; and, as his estates lay in the linen counties,

* See Caldwell's Debates of the Irish House of Commons, 1764.

he seemed to have a sort of claim to it. "Your Lordship has asked no favour, but your right," said the Lord Lieutenant, and, of course, you will be appointed whenever a vacancy takes place."

Lord Charlemont pursued his course. A very short time intervened after this interview, when his sincerity was put to the test. An address was moved for in the House of Lords, returning thanks for the conclusion of the treaty of Paris. Though his patent was then passing through the offices, he voted against that address. "I do not like the peace," said he, "though I esteem the English embassador, (the Duke of Bedford) and love the French embassador, (the Duc de Nivernois) who concurred in framing it, and both, I am sure, from the best motives." He not only voted, but on the 21st of Dec. 1763, protested against this measure, in conjunction with the Earls of Kerry and Moira. This is the first time he appeared as a protester; a character which, some very short periods excepted, he seems never to have lost sight of. "I am an old protester," (thus he writes to a friend, July, 1792) "and have always wished to declare my difference of opinion from that of the majority as fully as possible." But from the moment of his protesting, adieu to all court distinctions, and court favours! Not a word even of his promised important situation at the linen board.—But of this more hereafter. However, whether a seat at the treasury, or any other board, had been held out to him, or even placed in his actual possession, it altered his public conduct not a jot. His patent, as Earl of Charlemont, had, as usual, been laid before the Lord Chancellor, (Bowes.) In the preamble it was stated, that this advancement in rank had been conferred, unsolicited in any way whatever. To this the Chancellor objected, as contrary to all usage, and struck the words unsolicited, &c. out of the preamble. Lord Charlemont said, that though it was no doubt contrary to precedent, it was exactly consonant to the truth; that he owed his earldom entirely to the benignity of his sovereign, and respect to his Majesty alone prevented him from declining even then the earldom; but that he would, as he had a right to do, annex an engrossed testimonial to his patent, specifying the manner in which it was granted. This he neglected to do for several years, till the same reason which made him hesitate as to his acceptance of a higher title, namely, an unwarrantable and unseemly profusion of the honors of the peerage of Ireland, seemed, in his opinion, to recur again, and to forbid any longer delay of the testimonial. The circumstances to which that instrument

alludes have been already detailed; the conclusion of it, therefore, seems the only part which it is necessary now to give to the reader. "This circumstance, (the gracious offer of the earldom from his Majesty, not his ministers) added to the consideration of the great difference between honours voluntarily bestowed, and those extorted by solicitation, purchased by the infamy of a bribe, or basely, and dearly earned by the mean, and wicked drudgery of political servitude, induced me to think my compliance proper, and even necessary. I have only to add, that, whereas, from the impossibility of finding reasons in any sort to justify many of the late creations, I thought it incumbent on me to revive this ancient and honorable usage; declining, however, to allow the reasons alledged for this my advancement to be inserted in the preamble to the patent, from a consciousness that the services by me performed were too inconsiderable to be recorded; and rather chusing to mention the merits of the first Peer of my family, and the remarkable circumstance of an *Earldom* having been intended for my ancestor, so early as the reign of James the First.

"CHARLEMONT.

"Dublin, March 13th, 1772."

So much for ancient, and high honor! How utterly incomprehensible must all these scruples, and all this delicacy appear to some of our modern nabobs, and our new-raised men of insolent wealth, groping their painful, and tortuous way to the House of Lords, through the channel of a mouldering and venal borough!

If Lord Charlemont continued to act the same independent uniform part he had hitherto done, Primate Stone equally laboured in his vocation as a consummate, intriguing, and artful politician. Hamilton's talents and address had, for some time, gained the ascendancy, during the administration of Lord Halifax, but the superiority was transient. Transitory, however, as it was, Stone could *never forgive it*. An eminent member of Parliament, though no enemy to the church, could not avoid saying one day, in the gaiety of his heart, at table, "That this was the only instance in which the Primate retained any mark of his profession." Be that as it may, his Grace, who had now Lord Northumberland's ear as open to

him as he could wish, procured the dismissal of Hamilton from the secretaryship. That gentleman, however, obtained the lucrative and then sinecure, place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Rigby did that of Master of the Rolls. Two such appointments, in which nothing was attended to but the salary, would alone prove, were every other document wanting, the very humble and insignificant light in which Ireland was at this time regarded by British statesmen. Lord Drogheda, (the present Marquis) was fixed on, by Stone, to be Hamilton's successor. As the session had either then drawn, or was drawing, very near to a conclusion, and, of course, a member of the Upper House could equally fill the situation of Secretary with a commoner, at least till the next parliamentary campaign, one would imagine, that that circumstance, aided by Lord Drogheda's rank, and just pretensions, to a high and honorable situation in his own country, would preclude any particular finesse, or circuitous intrigue, as to his Lordship's appointment;—nor on his part was there any,—but the Primate thought otherwise. Whether he imagined that the Lord Lieutenant had not been sufficiently sounded, or whether, having trod the road of a refined courtier, from his earliest days, he could not now keep any path, except that of the oblique, His Grace went to the castle, when a whimsical interview took place between him and Lord Northumberland.

The Viceroy began the conversation, by expressing his wishes that the Primate would be so good as to name some gentleman, who, in his Grace's opinion, would be best suited to fill the duties of that office. The Primate, with the best feigned simplicity and candor, declared that, at that moment, he knew of none. The situation was in the highest degree arduous, and important—the times difficult—he had formerly, certainly, been very conversant with public men—his enemies said too much so—God forgive them! But true, or false, that day was past! He was highly sensible of the honor done him by his Excellency in consulting him on a point of so much delicacy and importance, and only lamented his utter inability to meet his Excellency's wishes, as his duty and inclination prompted him to do.

Whilst indulging in this strain, and acting the part of a hypocritical courtier, as well as he possibly could, at the very moment that he affected to recede most from that character, Lord Drogheda was, by mere accident,

shewn into the room, and seeing his Grace, and the Lord Lieutenant together, of course immediately withdrew. " Just Heaven!" exclaimed the Primate, " this is singular, this is indeed unexpected!" " What does " your Grace allude to?" said the Lord Lieutenant. " Well!" continued the Primate, " old Lambertini* used, in his jesting manner to say, that " there were no miracles now-a-days; but what would he say to this?" Lord Northumberland stared; and, with some reason certainly, fancied that his Grace, though not much advanced in years, was beginning to doat. The Primate went on; " My Lord, permit me to say, that this may be " called an almost celestial interposition; at the very moment your Excel- " lency was most embarrassed as to the choice of a secretary, and I, equally " so in recommending any one, a nobleman accidentally comes into the " room, whom, till this instant, unaccountably I never thought on, and " yet, of all men, he is, perhaps, best suited to the place. My dear Lord, " allow me to request you to bid the aid-de-camp to call him back, or " send after him; he's your man; depend on it, he's your man." The Lord Lieutenant, perhaps indifferent as to whom he should appoint, or, what is more probable, having much respect for Lord Drogheda, and his Grace's politics being now, in this instance, completely unveiled to him, acquiesced, with cheerfulness, in the pious Prelate's inspired mandates, and Lord Drogheda was appointed.

This was, perhaps, the last notable conference which this celebrated Churchman and statesman had with Lord Northumberland, who left Ireland in May, 1764, and put the government into his Grace's hands, as well as those of the Earl of Shannon, and Mr. Ponsonby, the speaker. Death soon after closed the eyes of the two great rivals, Stone and Shannon. They both died, whilst Lords Justices, in December following, and within nine days of each other. Had a more splendid theatre been allotted to them, they would have been eminently conspicuous in the page of history. But most wise is the poet's observation, and most consolatory should it be to those who attend closely to the dispositions of many with whom they are in daily intercourse, that, if humility of station circumscribes our growing virtues,

* The celebrated Benedict 14th, who died a few years before.

it also confines our crimes. The sound superior sense of Lord Shannon would, perhaps, in any situation, have taught him general moderation; but Stone's ambition, in truth, knew no limits; and, in another country, the chicane of negotiations, the subserviency of foreign cabinets, the tumults of wars, the friendship, or the overthrow, of Princes, would alone have completely filled up every part of his mind. He at first captivated all who approached him, by the uncommon beauty of his person, his address, and the vivacity of his conversation; he had, in some respects, far juster views of Ireland than many of his contemporaries; but his own aggrandizement predominated over every other consideration. Whilst, in the more early part of his political life, he affected no other character than that of a statesman, he was, though unpopular, dignified and imposing; when, towards the close of it, he thought proper occasionally to assume the lowliness of an ecclesiastic, satiated with the bustle and splendor of the world, the artful statesman still glared so over every part of his behaviour, as to render it, in some measure, revolting. He quickly perceived this effect of his newly-adopted manner, and reassumed his old one, in which not the least trace of a churchman was visible. Altogether, it requires a pen, much superior to mine, entirely to delineate his character.

Lord Charlemont having taken his seat as Earl, in the month of January, 1764, went to London, some time before the close of the sessions, and was soon engaged in occupations far different from those which had employed his attention in Ireland. They were chiefly of the literary kind, and an undertaking which emanated from the society of the Dilettanti, was particularly patronized by him. On every account it deserves to be recorded.

The society of the Dilettanti,* composed of the principal nobility and gentry of these kingdoms, and of which Lord Charlemont was a member, displayed, at this time, an attachment to, and encouragement of letters and the fine arts, in a manner equally judicious and munificent. On an inspection of the books of the society, it was found, that a considerable sum of money was then in the hands of the treasurer, and it was agreed on to expend this money in such a way as would add to the most elegant

* It was originally formed in the year 1734.

gratifications, and instruction of the human mind. The society resolved, "That persons, properly qualified, should be sent, with sufficient appointments, to some parts of the East, in order to collect information, and make observations relative to the ancient state of those countries, and to such monuments of antiquity as were then remaining. It was also determined, that £2000 should be appropriated for that purpose."*

Lord Charlemont was placed at the head of the committee which had the superintendance and management of this most laudable scheme. A better choice could not be made than of one who was not only a lover of ancient elegance, and judge of the fine arts, but had been, as I have already stated, long resident in most of the places to which the researches of the society were now to be particularly directed. The gentlemen employed in this truly classical mission, were Doctor Chandler, a most respectable scholar, and, at that time, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; Mr. Revett, an architect, the companion of Mr. Stuart, and his assistant in the celebrated publication of the Ruins of Athens, and Mr. Pars, a young painter of great merit. The direction of the whole was lodged in Doctor Chandler; the resolutions, and general instructions of the committee, are prefixed to Dr. Chandler's travels through Asia Minor. They are dated from the Star and Garter, London, May 17th, 1764, and signed as follows: Charlemont; Robert Wood; Thomas Brand; William Farquier; James Stuart; Middlesex; Le Despenser; J. Gray; Besborough.

* I have before me a Resolution of the society, dated London, March 31st, 1760. It is as follows:

"Ann. Societat. Vicesim. Sext.
Dilettanti.

"Resolved, That considering the great increase of the riches of the society, amounting to about 4000l., it is necessary that the following resolution should be transmitted to such members as have not attended for two years past, viz. That all members who cannot prove that they are Regis negotiis detenti, and neglect paying, or remitting, to colonel George Gray, the sum of fifty pounds to be added to the general fund, according to the intention of the society, for the promoting of arts and sciences, or appearing at the society before the first Sunday in May, 1760, be no longer deemed members thereof.

"George Gray."

It may be necessary just briefly to state, that Dr. Chandler, with his companions, embarked at Gravesend the 9th of June, 1764; they entered the Hellespont the latter end of August following; visited the Troade, Tenedos, &c. They then went to Smyrna, which they left, having seen Ephesus, Miletus, and Teos, August 20th, 1765, and sailed to Athens. At Athens they continued till June, 1766, when, after visiting Egina, the Morea, Corinth, and lastly *Olympia*, and the territory of *Elis*, (names, which ancient chronology, and the genius of Xenophon, have rendered ever sacred) they sailed from Zante, September the first, and returned to England the beginning of November, 1766.

The publication of the Ionian antiquities, which took place soon after their return to England, and at the expense of the society, afforded a proof that the patronage of the Dilettanti was not without its effect. The preface to the Antiquities was written by Mr. Wood, partly at the suggestion of Lord Charlemont. They had been long acquainted, and their literary pursuits were, for many years, nearly similar. Mr. Wood was a native of Ireland; his name is well known in the republic of letters, particularly to the admirers of Homer. Dr. Chandler's Trav els in Asia Minor followed the Ionian Antiquities; and, sometime after, his Travels through Greece, which gave to the public the almost entire result of his laborious, useful, and enlightened researches.*

It is now nearly thirty years since Dr. Chandler's Travels have been given to the world; they deserve, in my opinion, no small degree of praise. Strictly adhering to the original plan of the society, the method which he has pursued, of giving a succinct, but clear, historical account of each celebrated place which he visited, and then describing its present state with the most perfect fidelity, is, perhaps, the best which he could have chosen for the illustration of his subject. It brings the whole before the reader in the justest point of view. His narrative seems, in some measure, to partake of that plainness and simplicity of diction, which characterized the productions of those great men, who once adorned the countries which were in

* His *Ilium*, or Dissertation on the Troade, which was announced at this time, did not make its appearance till 1802, and since the above was written.

part the objects of his investigation. His descriptions are sometimes picturesque; that of the ruins of the Temple of Apollo Didymœus, is, I think, peculiarly so. With much intelligence and sensibility, he is quiet and unaffected. He invokes no manes, he apostrophizes no orator or philosopher; he neither asks himself, or the gods, any idle question, whether he really breathes the same air that Plato and Socrates did two thousand years ago.*

All such puerilities as these, displaying no less a paucity of ideas, than affectation and false taste in composition, are surely to be laughed at. "To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible." So says Johnson, in that truly eloquent passage, (one of the best, perhaps, he ever wrote) and which so harmonizes with the best feelings of our nature. The unaffected expression of such feelings will always touch the heart; for, with a just and generous enthusiasm, who will not sympathise? But, instead of precise information, correct, but animated description, concise, yet luminous history, to give the reader nothing but the flutterings of our own distempered fancy, is, indeed, writing to very little purpose.

I have dwelt longer on this subject than was, perhaps, altogether necessary. Respect for the venerable author, and gratitude for the pleasure which his Travels afforded me, must plead my apology. But, independent of any such circumstance, let me observe, that this part of the history of the Dilettanti, which does them so much honor, is particularly interwoven with that of Lord Charlemont; he had a principal share in forwarding this undertaking, so that whatever gratification, or benefit the public may have received from it, is, without derogating from the merit of others, in a good measure to be attributed to him.

He had a house constantly in London till the year 1773, when his elegant town residence in Rutland-square, Dublin, was either built or finished. Let it, however, be remembered to his honor, that not only at this period of his life, but during his residence abroad, he kept a house and establishment for his sisters, and, I believe, his brother. His friends in London, at this time, friends who, during their lives loved and honored him, were chiefly

* See some French Travels.

the Earl of Aylesbury, the late Lord Thanet, the Marquis of Rockingham, and Lord Powerscourt. The first three he became connected with whilst abroad; Lord Powerscourt he knew from his childhood. The Earl of Aylesbury he truly respected, and always spoke of with warm affection. Lord Thanet was also much valued and esteemed by him. For Lord Rockingham his regard and veneration were almost unlimited. He was charmed with the mild, yet firm integrity of his mind, and the justness of his political principles, which he considered as founded in the best school of Whiggism; that is, such as Somers, and Townshend, and Walpole, and the Cavendishes, professed and adhered to, at a time when the constitution was really in danger. But the elegant tribute paid by him to Lord Rockingham's memory, and which shall be mentioned in its proper place, renders it unnecessary to go further into that subject at present; suffice it to say, that Lord Charlemont's political principles were, in every respect, congenial to those of that revered nobleman, and with him, the Duke of Devonshire, and the chiefs of the minority, who, at this period, opposed Lord Bute, he was particularly and closely connected.

Johnson, Edmund Burke, (who had not as yet come into parliament,) Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Mr. Topham Beauclerk, were his literary associates;—Goldsmith came afterwards. Many others might be mentioned. With Beauclerk he seemed to have been as much delighted as Johnson was, and that gentleman's attachment to him was ardent and sincere. Lord Charlemont often mentioned to me the pleasure which he derived from Mr. Beauclerk's conversation, which could scarcely be equalled. They corresponded frequently. According to his Lordship's account of him he possessed an exquisite taste, various accomplishments, and the most perfect good breeding. He was eccentric, often querulous, entertaining a contempt for the generality of the world, which the politeness of his manners could not always conceal; but to those whom he liked, most generous and friendly. Devoted to pleasure, devoted to literature, sometimes absorbed in play, sometimes in books, he was, altogether, one of the most accomplished, and, when in good humour, and surrounded by those who suited his fancy, one of the most agreeable men that could possibly exist. Such was Lord Charmont's portrait of him; and two or three of his letters, which his Lordship

was so indulgent as to shew to me, prove, as far as they can prove, the general resemblance. But the friend whom he most truly loved, the companion of his youth, and his maturer years, and whose death at this time (May, 1764) he was doomed to lament, was Lord Powerscourt.

Edward Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt, uncle to the present most respectable nobleman* of that name, was descended from an ancient, and very illustrious English family. Some of his ancestors were Knights of the Garter, in the time of Henry the Eighth, and connected with the Widvilles, a house, as is well known, allied by marriage to Edward the Fourth, and on which the learning, the chivalry, and misfortunes of Lord Rivers, have, with the aid of the historic, and tragic muse, shed a never-fading lustre. The immediate ancestor of Lord Powerscourt was Marshal Wingfield, who came to Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Of the nobleman whom I have occasion now to mention, the sentiments of all, who had the happiness of being known to him, were uniform and unvaried. His generosity and magnificence, his engaging, unaffected conversation, the lively energies of his mind, were almost generally felt and acknowledged. That this coloring is not over-charged, many who are still living, and knew him well, can bear ample testimony. He was distinguished among his associates, and those who, having long survived him, idolized his memory by the appellation of the *French* Lord Powerscourt; an epithet, not of frivolity, but acquired merely by his long residence in France, where his agreeableness, his vivacity, and courteous, easy manners, rendered him universally liked; and with some of the principal personages of the court of Louis the Fifteenth he was a particular favourite.

In London he was equally relished; and whether there or in Dublin, conversing with men of sense, and the world, entertaining a brilliant circle of both sexes at his delightful seat of Powerscourt; or again returning to

* That Nobleman, Richard, Lord Powerscourt, died since the above was written. I saw him, and with sorrow, gathered to his fathers. His remains were attended to the tomb, by his very numerous respectable tenantry, and the noblemen and gentlemen of the country. So should the good be honoured. He was one of the few men of high rank who resided almost constantly in Ireland, and not more from attachment than from duty. An illustrious example.

the society of Paris, La Clairon, Comte D'Argenson, and others, he captivated all ranks of people. He seemed to exist only to please, and render those about him contented, and satisfied with themselves. Having been a votary of fashion for several years, and given rise to many of its fantasies, and agreeable follies, he was not overpowered by the habits of self-indulgence. He listened reluctantly, and supinely, at first; but still he listened to the voice of his country, which told him, that the duties of public life should take their turn also, and had a predominant claim on those who, like him, to high birth and station, added, what was of far more consequence to the community, the powers of a strong and cultivated mind. Accordingly he, for some time, attended the House of Lords. But he soon discovered that, although he wished to engage in business, the Upper House of the Irish Parliament was, of all places on earth, the most unpropitious to any such laudable pursuit. An ungenerous and unwise policy had withered almost all the functions of that assembly, and the ill-omened statute of George the First, hung on it like an incubus. He was much mortified at finding himself in the company of such august, but imbecile, inefficient personages, who moved about more like the shadows of legislators, than genuine, and sapient guardians of the realm, or counsellors to Majesty. He soon grew weary of them. To an intimate friend of his, who often repeated the circumstance to me, he lamented, that he was not born a commoner, and some time after he proved that he was not affectedly querulous, or insincere in the regret which he expressed, for he procured a seat in the English House of Commons.* Whilst he sat there, he spoke not unfrequently; his speaking was much approved of, and he began to relish the new scene of life, into which, for the best purposes, he had now entered. But procrastination renders our best efforts ineffectual; a severe malady soon overtook him; he resigned his seat in the House of Commons, and, after struggling with uninterrupted ill health for some time, he died universally beloved in the prime of life, having scarcely passed his thirty-fourth year. Lord Charlemont lived with him, as with the dearest brother of his heart, and

* He was member for Stockbridge, in Hampshire.

to the close of his life spoke of, and lamented him with the truest sensibility.

Whilst Lord Charlemont was in London, he frequently met the Earl of Northumberland; and, in the course of one morning's conversation, he happened to take notice of the linen board; adding, at the same time, that as to the promise which had been made to him of a trusteeship, he had always considered it as conditional; that he believed parliamentary assistance, though not expressed, and sometimes almost disclaimed, by great leaders, when such promises were held out, was still expected; and, as he had undoubtedly given opposition, not aid, to many of Lord Northumberland's measures, so far he had not fulfilled his part of the implied agreement. Lord Northumberland was somewhat agitated, and assured him, that had it been in his power, he would have most strictly adhered to what he considered as his engagement to Lord Charlemont; but, he emphatically added, "I was totally prevented." Lord Charlemont said, that he was convinced the case was so; and, after some conversation on indifferent matters, they parted with their usual cordiality. In fact, as Lord Charlemont often said, the Earl of Northumberland was by no means to blame in the transaction; and he only mentioned this interview to particular persons, as it entirely confirmed his ideas, as to two material circumstances; first, that, however gracious, and condescending his Majesty's offer of an earldom to him was, and unclogged with any stipulation whatever, some of his ministers were resolved, that conditions should be annexed to it, and looked not to any services past, but services to come, and of a very different species from those which his Majesty wished to remunerate. In short, as far as their influence extended, nothing whatever was to be conceded to a member of either House of Parliament, without that member's parliamentary co-operation. Secondly, as to Lord Northumberland, he had never forgot his engagement; but, when he mentioned the linen board for Lord Charlemont, before he left Ireland, he was told, that such and such persons had been promised seats there, long before his arrival; and again, that a place there was necessary to be given to a particular gentleman, and then another, for the maintenance of a most valuable parliamentary connection. This, or similar language, on such occasions, was the only one held by the aristo-

cratic party, which then ruled Ireland; and, perhaps, nothing can more fully prove their absolute sway, than that a nobleman, of such immense possessions as Lord Northumberland, should be thwarted in the disposal of an insignificant place, equally with any Viceroy who had been sent to Ireland from White's or Almack's, to repair the ravages which his fortune might have sustained in those venerable academies of our young nobility. At the time Lord Northumberland came over, the contest as to Lord Bute raged high, and whatever was the intention of any minister, or ministers, at that moment, as to the Irish aristocracy, nothing could be done amidst such a shock of the belligerent powers, as was then felt at Westminster. Lord Northumberland, therefore, with the best intentions possible, was consigned to the care of our leaders here, as too many of his predecessors had been a length of time. These leaders "were," says Lord Charlemont, "as every one knows, styled undertakers; and justly were they so, as from education, and from habit, they certainly were well fitted to preside at the funeral of the common weal."* Whatever their imbecility, however, in point of talents, (though, surely, with regard to some of them at least, *that* has been much misstated) or, however great their usurpations, their misrule, if it may be so termed, arose, very naturally, from the political situation of Ireland, from the situation of parties in England, and the predominancy of one great party, the Whigs, who, till the period we have now arrived at, had ruled England with little interruption. Whatever the faults, or errors of that party, I am not disposed to condemn, but, generally, to applaud its leaders; and, I believe, notwithstanding all the railing of their adversaries, there are few, who truly venerate the English Constitution, who will not look back with a melancholy pleasure, to those good days of old England,—days of constitutional tranquillity,—internal and external peace,—when it was governed by a Whig association. With regard to Ireland, it cannot be said, that their views were very extensive, or, if they occasionally were so, they were controlled by circumstances; but, as to its *immediate* safety, they consulted that, at least, when they resigned the care of it to some branches of their own connections here, who, they

* Private Papers.

knew, were as inimical as themselves to the return of the house of Stuart. *That* they considered as the first evil to be guarded against. A peevish sophister, or conceited, speculative politician, living some forty or fifty years after certain great events have passed by, may talk, with little knowledge, and little observance, of the hour which witnessed such events; but no rule of political action can be duly estimated, unless every circumstance, relative to the times, is regarded, which led to the establishment of that rule. To shut the door against the Stuarts, and, by so doing, to fix the English Constitution on foundations too broad to be easily shaken, was the leading object of that most wise, and good minister, Sir Robert Walpole. Hence his management of Fleury, of the court of Madrid; his pacific system in short. To effectuate this object, he drew to himself the purse, the authority, the energies of the whole state. He sometimes abused, and his immediate successors much oftener abused, this plenitude of power. If, however, this was the case in England, with such an opposition as he and they encountered, most of his transactions condemned, and publicity, often an invidious one, given to them all, what might not be expected *here*, where every political circumstance, instead of inspiring control over our rulers, seemed to infuse almost the oblivion of Lethe, as to all things whatever connected with the state, except our triumphs at the Boyne, and Aughrim;—triumphs, fortunate as to the English Constitution, the general liberties of Europe, and our own particularly; though at the moment, and too, too long after, dreadful in their consequences to the Catholics of Ireland. —But to return to the Earl of Northumberland, who, in somewhat more than a year after this, was raised to the rank of Duke. Lord Charlemont said, that the civility which he received from him in England was uniform and unremitting. And, at a subsequent period, when, soon after his marriage, Lady Charlemont accompanied him to London, no mark of attention, or regard, which could be paid to them, was withheld by the Duke, or his excellent Duchess. The liberality, in this respect, which Lord Charlemont met with from his grace, was similar to that which, some few years before, he had experienced from the Duke of Bedford. It rose above all party views, and disdained an ungenerous retrospect to parliamentary hostility; conscious as both those noble personages were, that such hostility, if it

deserved the name, was, on the part of Lord Charlemont, manly, honorable, and constitutional. Acting in this manner, they did becoming justice to themselves, as well as to him, and gave that unequivocal applause to his sentiments, which, in the sullenness of party, was often withheld from him at home. But the politeness, the affectionate courtesies, which Lady Charlemont received from the Duchess of Northumberland,—courtesies, at all times engaging, but more particularly then, as Lady Charlemont was, at that period, almost a stranger to London,—were duly estimated by her and cherished in her grateful remembrance, as well as Lord Charlemont's.

In 1765, the Earl of Hertford came here as Lord Lieutenant; a nobleman of truly illustrious birth, being descended from the Protector Somerset, and deriving from the Lords Conway estates of great extent and value, in the north of Ireland. "I verily believe he will please as Viceroy," (thus Lord Chesterfield writes, concerning him, to the Bishop of Waterford) "for he is one of the honestest and most religious men in the kingdom, and, moreover, very much a gentleman in his behaviour to every body." This was most strictly true. A nobleman, of such a character, must have been personally very agreeable to Lord Charlemont. Nor, although the political situation of Ireland, at that time, prevented him from indulging the hope, that any Viceroy, who merely came here in October, and returned to England in the May following, could, without a most unusual exertion on the part of the English Cabinet, possibly effect any considerable melioration in our condition; yet, as Lord Hertford was joined to the Whigs, who, at that time, had gained a temporary ascendancy* with the Marquis of Rockingham, at the head of the Treasury, Lord Charlemont rested secure, that nothing furious, or inimical, to the few rights we then had, would be attempted. He, therefore, attended the levees of the Lord-Lieutenant; but, true to the maxim which he had prescribed for his political conduct, he supported the government when, in his opinion, it acted right, and equally opposed it when he thought it his duty so to do. But his opposition was not of any continuance, as he went, soon after the Christmas recess, to London.

* "A lutestring ministry," said Charles Townshend, speaking of Lord Rockingham's administration, "it will last the summer."

Whilst attending the House of Lords, he protested against the act for restraining the exportation of corn. He says, the constant, and unalterable tenor of my sentiments, respecting the rights of Ireland, and my unremitting view to the emancipation of her constitution, may be seen in a protest against that bill, December, 1765, part of which protest is as follows: "Because, although the crowns of England and Ireland be united, yet Ireland is a distinct kingdom, and as such has a distinct and separate executive, as well as a distinct and separate legislature. But the proper, and distinct executive of this kingdom, is his Majesty, as king of Ireland, or his substitute, or substitutes, with the privy council of Ireland." Such were the sentiments of his lordship in 1765; sentiments, at that time, seldom hazarded in Parliament, though re-echoed by the whole kingdom, in 1782. It is remarkable, that he was joined in his protest by the late Marquis of Waterford, and the late Earl of Westmeath,—two noblemen of entire loyalty to the crown, and as indisposed to any hostile procedure to the councils of Great Britain, as any persons whatever. An anecdote of Lord Rockingham cannot be omitted here, as it is peculiarly illustrative of that simplicity, and generous, discriminating patriotism, which marked his character. Some time after the close of the session in Ireland, Lord Charlemont dined with him in London, when one of the company of that class of politicians, I suppose, who think that no support is given to an administration, unless it is blindly given, and that personal regards should absorb every other consideration, seemed to express a sort of good-humoured surprise, that Lord Charlemont, the intimate friend of the Marquis of Rockingham, should oppose Lord Rockingham's Viceroy, who, of course, was always to be considered as forming part of his Ministry. "Lord Charlemont is perfectly "right;" replied the Marquis. "He may approve of us here, and, there-"fore, I presume, he would support us here; but we may be erroneous in "some part of our conduct towards Ireland, and, if he thinks so, as the "Irish Parliament is the more immediate sphere of his public duty, no doubt "he should oppose us there."—An excellent lesson, particularly at that time, and not without its utility at this day, to those who affect to veil a base disregard for Ireland, under an assumed concern for the general weal of the empire; but who, in truth, if not checked in their precipitant servility,

would think neither of the empire, the place of their birth, public duty, or any thing else, save only the mandates of a groveling self-interest. Lord Hertford's administration was, in general, approved of, and passed away in almost uniform tranquillity. Except as to the division, and protest, alluded to above, the House of Lords was as serene as that august body could possibly wish to be in those days.

Amidst the variety of persons who sought the friendship, or, at least, the acquaintance of Lord Charlemont, was the well-known Charles Lee, at this time aid-de-camp to Stanislaus, the late King of Poland. Dissatisfied with the whole tenor of English politics, and equally dissatisfied with himself, he entered into that amiable Prince's service, when, after remaining for some time at Warsaw, he visited different parts of Europe, and, at last, as the world has been long since informed, closed his days in America. We find him in this year (1765) corresponding with Lord Charlemont on miscellaneous topics, and one of his letters from Warsaw, to that nobleman, is inserted here. It will be found not uninteresting.

Warsaw, June 1st, 1765.

"My dear lord,

"A letter which I sometime ago wrote to Lord Thanet,* I hope you considered as in part intended for you, otherwise I must appear a prodigy of ingratitude; I desired him to communicate it to you, and as it contained the whole history of my peregrination and success, I thought it would be rather troublesome, than an instance of my duty and affection, to scrawl out another to you at the same time; I therefore waited, in hopes that something might turn up here, which might probably amuse you, but as I might wait until doomsday, and this never happen, (for Warsaw, if the wine and climate were better, is absolutely the court of Alcinous, nothing to do with the affairs of this bustling world, nor do I think whatever passes, good or bad, gives her the least concern) I say, my Lord, therefore, as I despair of any thing stirring, worth your hearing, I can no longer defer paying my tribute, so long due, of duty and affection; but I should begin with asking a thousand pardons, for having so long kept in my hands the inclosed, from

* The late Earl of Thanet.

Prince Zartoryski,* to your Lordship; but, as I knew it included no business, I put it off from day to day for the aforesaid reasons. The longer I am acquainted with this man, the more I like him, the more I admire his talents; a retentive memory, solid judgment, and quickness, are seldom united in the same person, yet they are so superlatively in him. To be master of several languages, and possess likewise an extensive knowledge of things, is miraculous, yet he is possessed of one and the other. It is a pity that he has not a better theatre to act on; but really this country is a wretched one; nor do I think there is the least chance of bettering her situation, for, any attempt either on the part of the King, of the leading men, or the common gentry, to mend the Constitution, are protested against by her kind neighbours, through a tenderness for her interests;—though, it must be confessed that, were her neighbours not to interfere, there would be no great probability of a reform, for the general run of their gentry, who have such an insurmountable negative power, (as a single veto dissolves the diet) are, if possible, more ignorant, obstinate, and bigotted, than the Hidalgos of Portugal; and those few who are better informed than the herd, whether it is from despair, or their natural disposition, pass their hours in such consummate idleness and dissipation, that our Macaroni club, or Betty's loungers, are, comparatively speaking, men of business and application.—Were I to call the common people brutes, I should injure the quadruped creation, they are such mere moving clods of stinking earth. This certainly must be the effect of slavery; there cannot be so monstrous a physical difference betwixt man and man. I would to God that our Tory writers, with David Hume at their head, and the favorers of our damnable administration, were to join this noble community, that they might reap the fruits which their blessed labours entitle them to, and that the effects might not fall on harmless posterity. I have, if possible, since my passage through Germany, and my residence here, a greater horror of slavery than ever. For God's sake, you patriot few at

* A very illustrious and most accomplished Polish nobleman, highly esteemed by Lord Charlemont, and well known to the principal literati throughout Europe. He corresponded with Sir William Jones, as appears from Lord Teignmouth's Life of that extraordinary man. Prince Zartoryski is father to the minister of that name, who was lately secretary for foreign affairs in Russia, and the beautiful Countess Zamoyska, who visited London some few years ago.

home, *principiis obstate;* for absolute power is a serpent of that wriggling, penetrating kind, that, if it can but introduce its head, it is in vain to pull at the tail. It is curious to hear me converse on these subjects with the King; to hear me advance my doctrines, not the most favourable to monarchy, to defend even the beheading the martyr Charles; but it is still more curious to hear his opinions, which are singular for a crowned head; in short, he is as warm an advocate for the natural rights of mankind, as was Algernon Sidney himself. It is not to give you a specimen of my proficiency in the trade of a courtier, when I assure you, that this King is really an accomplished person, he is competently conversant with books, his notions are just, his intentions honest, and his temper not to be ruffled. What he is most faulty in is, that he passes too much time with the women; but that is the vice of the place. Italy is nothing to this country in cicisbeism; the men and women are ever together, taking snuff, yawning, groaning with ennui, without a syllable to utter, but cannot separate. You may be assured, therefore, my dear Lord, that I, who think that dangling should be punished with the pillory, pass, if possible, for a more odd fellow than I have done in other countries; but I am not satisfied with appearing absurd myself, I have broke into their parties by prevailing upon Wroughton, our resident here, who was as determined a yawner as the rest, sometimes to mount a horse, and look into a book. In a few weeks I set out for Breslaw, to be present at an *anti-yawning* party, a review of the King of Prussia's, where I may possibly collect materials for a letter to you, somewhat less dull than the present. In the mean time, my dear Lord, if you have a spare half hour, dispose of it charitably in preparing me the smallest dish of politics; but chiefly inform me of your health and welfare, which cannot be more devoutly wished for by any man than by, your most obliged, and

Humble servant,

Charles Lee.

P. S. Prince Zartoryski is much, and I believe warmly your's; it is to his house you must have the kindness to direct to me, that is, "*Chez Le Prince, General de Podolia, Varsovie.*

About this time, 1766, or somewhat before this, Lord Charlemont once more met his friend David Hume. His Lordship mentions him in some detached papers, which I shall here collect, and give to the reader. "Nothing," says Lord Charlemont, "ever shewed a mind more truly beneficent than Hume's whole conduct with regard to Rousseau. That story is too well known to be repeated, and exhibits a striking picture of Hume's heart, whilst it displays the strange and unaccountable vanity, and madness, of the French, or rather Swiss, moralist. When first they arrived together from France, happening to meet with Hume in the Park, I wished him joy of his pleasing connexion, and particularly hinted, that I was convinced he must be perfectly happy in his new friend, as their sentiments were, I believed, nearly similar. 'Why no, man,' said he, 'in that you are mistaken; Rousseau is not what you think him; he has a hankering after the Bible, and, indeed, is little better than a Christian, in a way of his own.' Excess of vanity was the madness of Rousseau. When he first arrived in London, he and his Armenian dress were followed by crowds, and as long as this species of admiration lasted, he was contented and happy. But in London, such sights are only the wonder of the day, and in a very short time he was suffered to walk where he pleased, unattended, unobserved. From that instant, his discontent may be dated. But to dwell no longer on matters of public notoriety, I shall only mention one fact, which I can vouch for truth, and which would, of itself, be amply sufficient to convey an adequate idea of the amazing eccentricity of this singular man. When, after having quarrelled with Hume, and all his English friends, Rousseau was bent on making his escape, as he termed it, into France, he stopped at a village between London and Dover, and from thence wrote to General Conway, then Secretary of State, informing him, that, although he had got so far with safety, he was well apprized, that the remainder of his route was so beset by his inexorable enemies, that, unprotected, he could not escape. He therefore solemnly claimed the protection of the King, and desired that a party of cavalry might be immediately ordered to escort him to Dover. This letter General Conway shewed to me, together with his answer, in which he assured him that the postillions were, altogether, a very sufficient guard throughout every part of the King's dominions.* To

* This anecdote of Rousseau is well known.

return to Hume. In London, where he often did me the honour to communicate the manuscripts of his additional essays, before their publication, I have sometimes, in the course of our intimacy, asked him whether he thought that, if his opinions were universally to take place, mankind would not be rendered more unhappy than they now were; and whether he did not suppose that the curb of religion was necessary to human nature? 'The objections,' answered he, 'are not without weight; but error never can produce good, and truth ought to take place of all considerations.' He never failed, in the midst of any controversy, to give its due praise to every thing tolerable that was either said, or written against him. One day that he visited me in London, he came into my room laughing, and apparently well pleased. 'What has put you into this good humour, Hume?' said I. 'Why, man,' replied he, 'I have just now had the best thing said to me I ever heard. I was complaining in a company, where I spent the morning, that I was very ill treated by the world, and that the censures past upon me were hard and unreasonable. That I had written many volumes, throughout the whole of which there were but a few pages that contained any reprehensible matter, and yet, for those few pages, I was abused and torn to pieces.' 'You put me in mind,' said an honest fellow in the company, whose name I did not know, 'of an acquaintance of mine, a notary public, who, having been condemned to be hanged for forgery, lamented the hardship of his case; that, after having written many thousand inoffensive sheets, he should be hanged for one line.'

"But an unfortunate disposition to doubt of every thing seemed interwoven with the nature of Hume, and never was there, I am convinced, a more thorough and sincere sceptic. He seemed not to be certain even of his own present existence, and could not therefore be expected to entertain any settled opinion respecting his future state. Once I asked him what he thought of the immortality of the soul? 'Why troth, man,' said he, 'it is so pretty and so comfortable a theory, that I wish I could be convinced of its truth, but I canna help doubting.'

"Hume's fashion at Paris, when he was there as Secretary to Lord Hertford, was truly ridiculous; and nothing ever marked, in a more striking manner, the whimsical genius of the French. No man, from his manners, was surely less formed for their society, or less likely to meet with their approbation; but that flimsy

philosophy which pervades, and deadens even their most licentious novels, was then the folly of the day. Free thinking and English frocks were the fashion, and the Anglomanie was the *ton du pais.* Lord Holland, though far better calculated than Hume to please in France, was also an instance of this singular predilection. Being about this time on a visit to Paris, the French concluded, that an Englishman of his reputation must be a philosopher, and must be admired. It was customary with him to doze after dinner, and one day, at a great entertainment, he happened to fall asleep: ' Le voilà!' says a Marquis, pulling his neighbour by the sleeve; ' Le voilà, qui pense!' But the madness for Hume was far more singular and extravagant. From what has been already said of him, it is apparent that his conversation to strangers, and particularly to Frenchmen, could be little delightful, and still more particularly, one would suppose, to French women. And yet no lady's toilette was complete without Hume's attendance. At the opera, his broad, unmeaning face was usually seen *entre deux tolis minois.* The ladies in France give the ton, and the ton was deism; a species of philosophy ill suited to the softer sex, in whose delicate frame weakness is interesting, and timidity a charm. But the women in France were deists, as with us they were charioteers. The tenets of the new philosophy were *à porteè de tout le monde,* and the perusal of a wanton novel, such, for example, as Therese Philosophe, was amply sufficient to render any fine gentleman, or any fine lady, an accomplished, nay, a learned deist. How my friend Hume was able to endure the encounter of these French female Titans I know not. In England, either his philosophic pride, or his conviction that infidelity was ill suited to women, made him perfectly averse from the initiation of ladies into the mysteries of his doctrine. I never saw him so much displeased, or so much disconcerted, as by the petulance of Mrs. Mallett, the conceited wife of Bolingbroke's editor. This lady, who was not acquainted with Hume, meeting him one night at an assembly, boldly accosted him in these words: ' Mr. Hume, give me leave to introduce myself to you; we deists ought to know each other.'—' Madam,' replied he, ' I am no deist. I do not style myself so, neither do I desire to be known by that appellation.'

" Nothing ever gave Hume more real vexation, than the strictures made upon his history in the House of Lords, by the great Lord Chatham. Soon after that speech I met Hume, and ironically wished him joy of the high honour that

had been done him. ‘ Zounds, man,’ said he, with more peevishness than I had ever seen him express, ‘ he's a Goth ! he's a Vandal !’ Indeed, his history is as dangerous in politics, as his essays are in religion ; and it is somewhat extraordinary, that the same man who labours to free the mind from what he supposes religious prejudices, should as zealously endeavour to shackle it with the servile ideas of despotism. But he loved the Stuart family, and his history is, of course, their apology. All his prepossessions, however, could never induce him absolutely to falsify history ; and though he endeavours to soften the failings of his favorites, even in their actions, yet it is on the characters which he gives to them, that he principally depends for their vindication ; and from hence frequently proceeds, in the course of his history, this singular incongruity, that it is morally impossible that a man, possessed of the character which the historian delineates, should, in certain circumstances, have acted the part which the same historian narrates and assigns to him. But now to return to his philosophical principles, which certainly constitute the discriminative feature of his character. The practice of combating received opinions, had one unhappy, though not unusual, effect on his mind. He grew fond of paradoxes, which his abilities enabled him successfully to support ; and his understanding was so far warped and bent by this unfortunate predilection, that he had well nigh lost that best faculty of the mind, the almost intuitive perception of truth. His sceptical turn made him doubt, and consequently dispute, every thing ; yet was he a fair and pleasant disputant. He heard with patience, and answered without acrimony. Neither was his conversation at any time offensive, even to his more scrupulous companions ; his good sense, and good nature, prevented his saying any thing that was likely to shock, and it was not till he was provoked to argument, that, in mixed companies, he entered into his favourite topics. Where indeed, as was the case with me, his regard for any individual rendered him desirous of making a proselyte, his efforts were great, and anxiously incessant.

“ Respecting this new, or rather revived system of philosophy, *soi disant tette*, it may perhaps be confessed, that it may, possibly, have done some good ; but then it has certainly done much more mischief to mankind. On the one hand, it may perhaps be allowed, that to its prevalence we owe that general system of toleration which seems to prevail, and which is, I fear, the only speck of

white that marks the present age.* Yet, even this solitary virtue, if infidelity be its basis, is founded on a false principle. Christian charity, which includes the idea of universal philanthropy, and which, when *really Christian*, is the true foundation on which this virtue should be erected, and not the opinion that all religions should be tolerated, because all are alike erroneous. But even allowing this boasted benefit its full weight, to the same cause we are, I doubt, on the other hand, indebted for that profligacy of manners, or, to call it by the most gentle name, that frivolity which every where prevails. To this cause we owe that total disregard, that fastidious dislike to all serious thought; for every man can be a deist without thinking; he is made so at his toilette, and, whilst his hair is dressing, reads himself into an adept; that shameful and degrading apathy to all that is great and noble; in a word, that perfect indifference to right or wrong, which enervates and characterizes this unmeaning and frivolous age. Neither have we reason to hope a favourable change. The present manners are the fashion of the day, and will not last. But infidelity will never subside into true piety. It will produce its contrary. The present is an age of irreligion; the next will, probably, be an age of bigotry.

" Ætas parentam, pejor ævis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox dæturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem."

To proceed now with Politics.

* When this was written, I know not.

## 1767.

After Lord Hertford's departure, the Earl of Bristol was nominated lord lieutenant. But he never came, and, if the opinions of certain persons have any weight, never would have succeeded if he had come. Then Lord Weymouth, a nobleman of talents, was appointed; and, if Junius is to be believed, merely for the first emoluments of a place, which, it was intended, he never should fill. At last Lord Townshend came to Ireland. His Viceroyalty forms a peculiar epocha in the history of this country; a gallant Soldier, the military associate of Wolfe, frank, convivial, abounding in wit and humour; sometimes, it is said, more than was strictly consonant to the Viceroyal dignity; capricious, uncertain, he not unfrequently offended the higher orders; but, altogether, had his parliamentary measures been more agreeable, few lord lieutenants would have been more acceptable to the Irish. His brother, the celebrated Charles Townshend, was then chancellor of the exchequer; but scarcely had the lord lieutenant kissed hands on his appointment, when Charles Townshend died, and his political importance suffered, of course, much diminution. A very novel system, as to this country, had, previous to his departure from England, been resolved on by the English cabinet. The lord lieutenant was, in future, to continue here for some years, and all the patronage of the lords justices consigned to him;—a wise system for Ireland, had it been carried into execution as it should have been. To no one was it, to a certain point, more agreeable than to Lord Charlemont; and he was prepared to support the new Viceroy, if the measures to be pursued bore any just conformity to the supposed plan. Unfortunately, however, the developement of every day's proceeding proved, that there was no plan whatever, unless to get rid of the aristocracy at any rate. As the subversion of their power, now so ancient in the country, would naturally create a host of opponents to Lord Townshend, some management of the people, and some popular measure, were necessary, to place the new system in successful

opposition to the old. The independency of the judges had been, for some years, a favourite object in Ireland. Lord Townshend, therefore, in the first speech which he made to the Irish parliament, directed their attention to this point, and heads of a bill soon passed both Houses, which enabled the judges to hold their seats, not as before, during pleasure, but during good behaviour. The bill was, however, returned from England so altered, that it was thrown out. What occasioned this change in the sentiments of the English cabinet is not known; but any thing more completely impolitic could scarcely be devised; it counteracted their own system, and, instead of adding dignity and grace to the new, and resident Viceroy, it was calculated to render his administration inefficient, and almost contemptible. To propose a measure from the throne, to the recommendation of parliament, is always considered as giving it that sanction which government can so amply bestow. To withdraw such a measure abruptly, or so to change it in its progress afterwards, as to render its adoption dangerous, is justly regarded as a breach of faith; and the English cabinet, by abandoning Lord Townshend in this instance, placed him in a situation most singularly awkward as a Viceroy, who was either not authorized to say what he did, or so inefficient as not to have power to carry what he himself had proposed. The consequences, at a future day, were highly injurious to his administration; but as the bill was lost at the time that the Octennial bill was gained, its rejection for the moment was comparatively disregarded.

The session for 1768 will be long memorable for the passing of the Octennial bill into a law;* a measure which, whether Lord Townshend recommended its adoption, or not, to the English ministry, covered him with popularity, and may be said to have first opened the door of the British Constitution to Ireland. Till this time the Irish Parliament continued, unless put an end to by prerogative, for the life of the reigning prince. During that of James the First, it sat for a long period; in the reign of Charles the First, its sittings, not elections, were frequent; it continued four sessions only during the life of his son; for, after the dissolution of parliament by the Duke of Ormonde, in August, 1666, Charles the Second never summoned another in this kingdom;

* The House of Commons passed heads of a bill for holding *Septennial* Parliaments in Ireland, but the English council changed the word Septennial into Octennial; thus giving four sessions to the Irish legislature, which at this time sat only every second year.

so that, for eighteen years, Ireland was without any legislative assembly whatever. King James's parliament cannot be acknowledged, nor was any parliament called here till four years after the revolution. William and Mary, therefore, sat, during that time, on the throne of these kingdoms, without any legislative interference on the part of Ireland ;* for the act of recognition of their Majesty's title to the crown of this kingdom was not passed till November, 1692. The war, however, of 1690, and 1691, is to be taken into consideration, as precluding a more immediate recognition. The parliament of 1692 sat but a short time indeed ; from the 5th of October to the 3d of November, when it was prorogued. The day of that prorogation is not to be passed over ; the royal assent was then given, by Lord Sydney, to the bill which acknowledged William and Mary's title to the crown ; and scarcely had that assent been given, when he entered a most angry protest against some proceedings of the commons. So highly did his Excellency resent their supposed invasion of the royal prerogative, by rejecting a money bill because it had not its rise in their house, and constitutionally adding, that the sole right of preparing heads of money bills was in the Commons, that not one word escaped him relative to the important act which they had just presented, and he confirmed ; but, having as sullenly as briefly told both Houses, that he would take into his consideration some heads of bills which he *had heard* were prepared by them, for his, and the council's approbation, he dismissed them never to meet again, as, in some months after, the parliament was dissolved. In such proceedings the image of the English constitution was but faintly reflected, and so inauspicious, and so clouded, was the dawn of the first parliamentary proceedings in Ireland after the revolution. Better counsels, however, have since, though slowly and reluctantly, taken place ; nor can we, at this day, sufficiently admire the superior efficacy of that constitution, which, even with the miserable portion of it then doled out to Ireland, could sustain and uphold this kingdom, not merely amid the conflict of hostile camps, but the inexpert councils of the victors ; who treated those whom they had subdued, and those who aided them in that subjugation, with almost the same mortifying and revolting indifference.

* Unless the act of Henry 8th, which declares, that whoever is King of England shall be also King of Ireland. But the Statesmen at the Revolution, (Lord Somers was, in 1692, Attorney-General, or Lord Keeper) did not chuse to trust to that act alone, but had the act of Recognition passed also, and thus made assurance double sure.

But Ireland was not merely annexed to the crown of England, (may she be ever so!) but, from the peculiar untowardness of her situation at that time, the complete dependant on the Parliament and people of England. The ungenerous restrictions on her commerce, some few years after the period I now touch on, gave that dependancy its full blazon. To expect generosity from the mass of mankind, towards those who are in piteous subserviency to them, is, with some splendid exceptions, the most light and insubstantial of all chimeras;—this is the history of individuals, as well as of nations.

The spirit of liberty, however, was not totally extinct. Parliament stood, for a time, aloof; but some members of parliament, in both houses, proved, by their conduct, that it was not for slavery they contended at the Boyne. A bill of rights was discussed, and the frequent holding of parliaments made a part of that proposed bill; unsuccessfully indeed, but we must respect the memory of those who brought forward such questions. During the reign of Queen Anne, there was no dissolution, till the year before the death of that Princess, when a new Parliament was called, which her Tory ministry could not bend to their purposes, nor divert from the House of Hanover, although they sent a lord lieutenant, (the Duke of Shrewsbury) who, from the clearness of his understanding, and the peculiar felicity of his temper and address, was the most likely to conciliate their regards. But that he really acted in unison with his ministerial colleagues may now be very reasonably doubted.

In the reign of George the First, though part of it was disturbed by Wood's patent, and not sufficiently so by the final judicature act, our parliament was not once dissolved, nor was that convened by his successor, which, of course, sat three and thirty years; for so long did that good Prince wear the crown. Nothing, therefore, can more completely display the inconsistency of some politicians, than their condemnation of the septennial bill in England, as being, from its duration, utterly irreconcileable to the constitution, whilst they loudly exclaimed against any change in the Irish parliament, whose existence was only terminated by an exertion of the prerogative, or the personal extinction of the monarch. A house of commons, of such longevity, could hardly be said to have any communication with, or knowledge of, the people. It became superannuated enough to outlive all recollection of popular control. *Quieta non movere* is a maxim which the levity of the multitude, and

the sinister ambition of those who too often lead that multitude, sufficiently demonstrate the general utility of. But it has its limits, and most necessarily so. In the case before us, though parliament had now continued in the state I have described for nearly eighty years after the revolution, statesmen could not expect that it would always remain so. The people looked towards England, and, observing the frequency of parliaments there, which unavoidably had its influence on the democratic part of the legislature, began to murmur at their own condition. In this temper, the original steps towards obtaining the Octennial bill were, as Lord Charlemont always observed, to be traced, however faintly, in the writings of his friend Doctor Lucas, which, though limited at first to objects merely municipal, not unfrequently hinted at the unconstitutional duration of parliaments; and, at last, openly recommended a proper resistance to such a political grievance. Those writings, though now almost forgotten, made no small impression on the public mind. The imperfect historical knowledge of Lucas was soon, and amply, supplied by the diligent research, and entire familiarity with constitutional subjects, which some gentlemen at the bar, or members of the house of commons, displayed in several publications, all tending to the same point, and stating the necessity of abridging the existence of Parliament, without which any change in the constitution, or condition of Ireland, would be looked for in vain.

The metropolis then came forward, and was followed by some counties, recommending a parliamentary support of this great measure; gradually the flame spread wider, nor was it in the power of ministerial, or aristocratical influence any longer to extinguish it. On the 22d October, 1761, (the first day of the meeting of the new parliament) leave was given to bring in heads of a bill to limit the duration of parliament; but when, on the 9th of December following, it was moved that the lord lieutenant would be pleased to recommend the same in the most effectual manner to his Majesty, the motion was negatived by a large majority. This proceeding very justly awakened the suspicions of the people as to the sincerity of their representatives; and the house, perfectly conscious that such suspicions were by no means vague or idle, thought proper to adopt the following very undignified, disingenuous, resolution: "Resolved, that the suggestions confidently propagated, that the heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, if returned from England, would

have been rejected by this house, are without foundation;" 26th of April, 1762. The progress of the bill through the house, in the subsequent session of 1763, was still more languid, and more calculated to awaken, and keep alive, every doubt and suspicion of the people. Leave was given to bring it in on the 13th of October, and it was not presented till the 14th of December following, nor reported till the middle of February. Nothing can more evidently mark the real disposition of the house, towards this very constitutional bill: the people became more importunate than before, and the house of commons once more passed the bill; having, according to the usage of those days, sent it to the privy council, where the aristocratical leaders were certain it would be thrown into a corner; nor were they mistaken. If they could have so long combated this measure in an assembly that had, at least, the name and semblance of a popular one, with what facility could they overthrow it in a select body, issuing directly from the crown, and where some members, not of one, but both houses of parliament, would, like confluent streams, direct their united force against it, with a more silent, indeed, and therefore more fatal current. The bill being thus soon overwhelmed, nothing could be done till another session. Once more the people petitioned, and once more the house of commons sent the bill to their good friends the privy council, enjoying, in public, the applause of the nation for having passed it, and, in secret, the notable triumph that it would be so soon destroyed. But here matters assumed a different aspect; the Privy council began to feel that this scene of deception had been long enough played by the commons, and being, with some reason, very much out of humour, that the plaudits of the nation should be bestowed on its representatives, whilst his Majesty's privy council, by the artifice of some leaders, was rendered odious to the country, resolved to drop the curtain at once, and certified the bill to the English privy council, satisfied that it would encounter a much more chilling reception there, than it had met with even from themselves. The aspect of affairs was again changed. The Irish privy council had disappointed the commons; and the English cabinet now resolved to disappoint and punish both. Enraged with the house of commons for its dissimulation, with the aristocracy for not crushing the bill at once; and, amid all this confusion and resentment, not a little elated, to have it at length in their power completely to humiliate that aristocracy, which, in the true spirit of useful obsequious servitude, not only galled the

people, but sometimes mortified, and controlled the English cabinet itself; afraid of popular commotions in Ireland; feeling, as English gentlemen, that the Irish public was in the right; as statesmen, that it would be wise to relinquish at once what, in fact, could be but little longer tenable,—they sacrificed political leaders, privy councellors, and parliament, to their fears, their hatred, their adoption of a new policy, and though last, not the least motive, it is to be hoped, their just sense of the English constitution. They returned the bill, and gave orders for the calling of a new parliament; which was dissolved the day after the Lord Lieutenant put an end to the session of 1768.

It is impossible not to mention, in this place, an anecdote which I heard from Lord Charlemont, as well as others. He happened, at this time, to dine with one of the great parliamentary leaders. A large company, and, as Bubb Dodington says of some of his dinners with the Pelhams, much drink, and much good humour. In the midst of this festivity, the papers and letters of the last English packet, which had just come in, were brought into the room, and given to the master of the house. Scarcely had he read one or two of them, when it appeared that he was extremely agitated. The company was alarmed. "What's the matter?—Nothing, we hope, has happened that——" "Happened! (exclaimed their kind host, and swearing most piteously,) Happened! The septennial bill is returned." A burst of joy from Lord Charlemont, and the very few real friends of the bill, who happened to be present! The majority of the company, confused, and, indeed, almost astounded, began, after the first involuntary dejection of their features, to recollect that they had, session after session, openly voted for this bill, with many an internal curse, Heaven knows! But still they had uniformly been its loudest advocates; and that, therefore, it would be somewhat decorous, not to appear too much cast down at their own unexpected triumphs. In consequence of these politic reflections they endeavoured to adjust their looks to the joyous occasion as well as they could. But they were soon spared the awkwardness of assumed felicity. "The bill is not only returned," continued their chieftain, "but—but—the parliament is dissolved!" "Dissolved! Dissolved! Why dissolved?" "My good friends, I can't tell you why, or wherefore; but dissolved it is, or will be directly."

Hypocrisy, far more disciplined than their's, could lend its aid no further.

If the first intelligence which they heard was tolerably doleful, this was complete discomfiture. They sunk into taciturnity, and the leaders began to look, in fact, what they had been so often politically called, a company of Undertakers. They had assisted at the parliamentary funeral of some opponents, (Jones Nevill, for instance;)* and now, like Charles the Fifth, though without his satiety of worldly vanities, they were to assist at their own. In the return of this fatal bill was their political existence completely inurned. Lord Charlemont took advantage of their silent mood, and quietly withdrew from this groupe of statesmen, than whom a more ridiculous, rueful set of personages in his life, he said, he never beheld. The city, in consequence of the intelligence of the evening, was in a tumult of gratitude and applause; illuminations were every where diffused, and our unintentionally victorious senators were obliged, on their return home, to stop at the end of almost every street, and huzza, very dismally, with a very merry, very patriotic, and very drunken populace.

But public exultation was not confined to Dublin. In a few days all Ireland might have been said to be one continued blaze. The septennial bill was now, according to the mode of passing bills in those days, once more to appear before the House of Commons, where, if it was not received with much interior joy and gladness, it met with great civility, and, in general, the most perfect parliamentary decorum. Many, unquestionably, acted like true patriots, and assented to it from their hearts, as a great constitutional boon conceded to Ireland. Some connected with boroughs began now to look a dissolution in the face, and calculated on a temporary sale, or entire lucrative transfer, of this species of parliamentary property. Some members for counties, who had long flattered themselves with possession of their seats, either for their own lives, or the life of the Sovereign, conscious that a retrospect of their political existence could afford little satisfaction to themselves, or their electors, shuddered at the idea of meeting those beloved constituents once more. Altogether, there was not a little patriotism, much dread of the people, and abundant selfishness.

* Mr. Arthur Jones Nevill, whose expulsion from the House of Commons, for supposed delinquency, as surveyor-general of public works, was a mere trial of strength between Boyle and Stone, in which the former was successful. The parliamentary wits of that day, in the House of Commons, said, on his expulsion, that he was not *In*igo Jones, but *Out*igo Jones.

The House of Lords presented a scene far more uniform. As a permanent body, emanating directly from the crown, the thunder of a dissolution not only rolled innocuous over their heads, but was hailed by them as the harbinger of days, auspicious, perhaps, to public liberty, but, at all events, far more propitious to their own personal interest. The major part of the boroughs lay in their hands, and a measure now presented itself which gave to them their choice of increasing their followers, or augmenting their purse. In some cases the latter object would be found, perhaps, the most desirable. A parliamentary chieftain in the north, or south, might, now and then, be rich in adherents, and poor in pocket.— *Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex.* The diminution of parliamentary consequence would, at certain intervals, be compensated by domestic convenience. They congratulated themselves, therefore, on the approach of a season, which was no longer to await the slow demise of the crown, the death, or the ennobling of a solitary individual; but would, then, and in its renovation every seven or eight years, restore to them their boroughs, in value augmented tenfold, and, in short, as productive and agreeable, as, at that moment, they were sterile and neglected. If such sentiments predominated in the minds of several, it is but candid to state, that some portion of public spirit pervaded also those of others. There were some, also, who had been so long held in thraldom by the aristocracy, that they could not but rejoice in a measure which would rescue them, and their connexions, from an oppressive bondage, and, if pursued with a just and liberal spirit, give constitutional, rational liberty to the kingdom. Lord Charlemont and his public-minded friends (they were, alas! but few) availing themselves of these intermingled sentiments among their noble brethren, most wisely took the current as it served, prevailed on the House to consent to the reading of the bill thrice on the same day, and crowned the whole with the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the reading of the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments a second time, committing it, reporting, and reading it a third time, and passing it in the same day, was done as a distinguishing mark of the approbation of this House of that bill, and is not to be drawn into precedent.

"Resolved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express our grateful acknowledgments for returning the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments in this kingdom, so essential to the constitution, so

beneficial to the Protestant religion, and so universally desired by the nation ; and to testify, by this early tribute of our thanks, the great satisfaction which we feel from an event, which equally contributes to the joy of the nation, and to his Majesty's glory."

The bill however did not pass through the House of Lords with entire unanimity. Lord Chancellor Lifford, Lord Annaly, and a respectable prelate, Doctor Hutchinson, Bishop of Killala, not only voted, but protested against it. Their arguments, as contained in the protest, are feeble and inconclusive.

In alluding to this measure, which may be said to have first unlocked the political energies of Ireland, Lord Charlemont has in some of his papers made the following observations, which are so truly just, that it would be unpardonable to withhold them from the reader. "As far as my experience goes, this maxim appears to me infallible, that every measure intrinsically just and good will finally be carried by virtuous and steady perseverance. In the pursuit of that which is salutary and right, let no patriot be discouraged by defeat, since, though repeated efforts may prove ineffectual, the time will come, when the labours of the virtuous few will finally succeed against all the efforts of interested majorities, when a coincidence of favourable circumstances will conspire with the justice and utility of the measure, and, beyond the reach of human foresight, carry into execution even that which, by the weak and timid, was deemed most impossible. *Nil desperandum* is a maxim in patriotism, which I solemnly recommend to the observance of my children. Let them always endeavour after what is right, how difficult so ever it may appear of attainment; since, though they should not live to witness success, they will lay a foundation for the success of their survivors. The man who lays the first stone of the temple of liberty has as much, and perhaps more credit with posterity, than he who lives to complete the edifice."

This year (1768) seems to have been particularly auspicious to Lord Charlemont in private as well as public life. On the second of July he was married to Miss Hickman, daughter of Robert Hickman, Esq. of the county of Clare; an ancient and respectable family, allied to that of Lord Windsor. Unfeigned respect for this noble lady, for the just delicacy of her mind, imposes an almost total silence on me, where otherwise I should be least inclined to indulge it. But I may be permitted to say this at least, that her union with Lord

Charlemont was productive of felicity, as rational and refined as uninterrupted ; and her taste and sentiments were, in all respects, congenial to those of her amiable Lord.*

The Parliament now accelerated to its close; and though the House of Commons could not, with much propriety, be styled "Fit Haunt of Gods," our General Sire did not take leave of his primæval abode with more fond and unavailing regret, than that august mansion was now bid adieu to by some of its degenerate sons, who had gaily indulged the expectation that they should continue members of it, as long as their Sovereign continued on his throne. But that dream of political beatitude was now over. Many never again entered its walls. A new scene was opened, and several new actors appeared. Some creations took place, of course, from time to time, in the House of Lords, of which the Peerage, no doubt, retains the most distressing memory; and History, no memory at all. Of some who flourished, if I may be allowed the phrase, in that assembly, or were long conspicuous in the lower House of Parliament, it is proper that just mention should be made.

Simon Luttrell, Earl of Carhampton, was descended from a long line of progenitors, who, for several centuries, were seated at Luttrelstown, in the county of Dublin, where, as well as in other counties of Ireland, they had very large possessions. The immediate ancestors of Lord Carhampton, or some of them at least, followed the fortunes of James the second. His uncle held a high rank in that prince's army, and was by him appointed a privy counsellor of Ireland, on the same day with the celebrated Anthony, Count Hamilton.† He was killed at the battle of Landen. Lord Carhampton was bred up in political principles directly opposite to those of his ancestors, and received the first part of his education at Eton, where he formed early habits of intimacy with Lord Camden, whose age corresponded exactly with his own.‡ He was a distinguished member of the House of Lords in Ireland for many years, though by no means young when he took his seat in that assembly. Whilst he was there, he spoke with his accustomed wit and humour, great perspicuity, adroitness,

* Since the above was written, that truly excellent lady is, alas ! no more.

† Author of the Gramont Memoirs, and many miscellaneous productions, in prose as well as verse.

‡ Both were born in the year 1713.

knowledge of mankind, quickness in perceiving, and rallying the foibles of his adversaries, stimulating, if it suited his purpose, a warm temper to warmth still greater, with a general vigilance, and command of his own. To oratory he laid no claim. He was well versed in the proceedings of parliament, as, for the best part of his life, he had sat in the English House of Commons, where, though he did not press forward as a constant debater, he was a most keen and accurate observer of all that passed. As a companion a more agreeable man could scarcely be found. He was the delight of those whose society he frequented, whilst he resided in Dublin, as he did almost constantly towards the close of his life. His conversation (for I had long the honor and happiness of partaking of it) was charming; full of sound sense, perfect acquaintance with the histories of the most distinguished persons of his own age, and that which preceded it; without the least garrulity pursuing various narratives, and enlivening all with the most graceful original humour. In many respects it resembled that species of conversation which the French, at a period when society was best understood, distinguished above all other colloquial excellence of that day, by the appropriate phrase of *l'Esprit de Mortemart*. Gay, simple, very peculiar, yet perfectly natural, easy, and companionable; unambitious of all ornament, but embellished by that unstudied and becoming air, which a just taste, improved by long familiarity with persons of the best manners, can alone bestow. Lord Carhampton was an excellent scholar; but as the subjects which engaged his attention in general were either political, or such as an agreeable man of the world would most dwell on, in mixed companies, his literary acquirements were only, or more peculiarly, known to those who lived in greater intimacy with him.

To enter into an idle, and unskilful panegyric of this nobleman, is not the part of these memoirs; but they can state, with propriety, that he was friendly and good-natured; and it is only doing bare justice to his memory to add, that the accounts which political writers of the day, especially at the period of the Middlesex election, published with regard to him, are almost without exception to be regarded as the mere fabrications of party. Young persons, who engage early and warmly in politics, cannot be sufficiently warned against the slightest encouragement of publications, which, professing to have some national object in view, are almost totally and ungenerously personal. No zeal for any patron or party, or cause, should induce an honourable mind to overlook, much less to applaud,

any wanton misrepresentation of our adversaries; for what has any good party, or good cause, to do with misrepresentations? At first they are regarded as the mere indiscreet o'erleapings of too great alacrity in a political contest; but insensibly they create an indifference to all truth, if some paltry triumph or advantage can be obtained by a deviation from it: or, without being so deadly in their effects, how often do they generate an unkindly spirit towards those whom either the propriety, or the accident, of parliamentary warfare may sometimes oppose to us; and how frequently has it happened, even to the best natures, that no inconsiderable portion of life has passed away, before the prejudices excited by those worst of all enemies to the liberty of the press, and indeed all civilized society, have totally subsided?

Charles Coote, Earl of Bellamont, was, I believe, descended from that Sir Charles Coote, who acted no inconsiderable part as a military personage, in Ireland, during that sad and agitated period which succeeded the calamitous æra of 1641. No portion of his warlike spirit was lost in his descendant, who, at an early period of his life, distinguished himself against the Oak boys, and other insurgents; for which services it was thought proper to reward him with a red ribband; and he was accordingly invested with the ensigns of the order of the Bath, by the Duke of Northumberland, then Lord Lieutenant, at the castle of Dublin. He was a nobleman who possessed much quickness of parts, of real but very singular talents, and most fantastic in the use of them. In his dress, his air, his manners, his diction, whether in common conversation, or debate, he was totally unlike any other man of his time. His person was well formed, of a most advantageous height, and, when decorated with his star, or other emblems of chivalry, he moved along, like a Lord Herbert of Cherbury, or one of those knights who "jousted in Aspramont or Montalban;"* as lofty in mien as in phrases; courteous, or hostile, as the occasion required. His oratory cannot be at all adequately described. He must have been heard in the House of Lords; where the stately march of his periods, his solemn pauses, his correspondent gestures, his selection of words, so remote from common use, yet by no means deficient in energy, or point, sometimes excited the admiration, and always the amazement, of his auditors. The politeness of his manners was certainly

* I speak of him as he appeared between thirty and forty years ago.

engaging, though ceremonious, and tinctured with that eccentricity which pervaded his whole deportment. He had a just and becoming public spirit, which conciliated the regard of Lord Charlemont, who acted as his second in his celebrated duel with the Marquis Townshend; when, it is almost superfluous to add, that he behaved with his usual characteristic gallantry and punctilious antique courtesy. He was most severely wounded, but lived many years afterwards.

There were other noblemen of talents who spoke with extreme good sense in the Lords, and always supported a propriety and dignity of conduct; but it is unnecessary to dwell on them here. I shall, therefore, go to the House of Commons.

John Scott, afterwards Earl of Clonmell, was, in the year 1769, recommended to the protection of Lord Townshend, then viceroy of Ireland, by Lord Chancellor Lifford. The Marquis had expressed his wishes for the assistance of some young gentleman of the bar, on whose talents and fidelity he might rely, in the severe parliamentary campaigns then likely to take place. In consequence of this recommendation Mr. Scott was elected a member of the House of Commons for one of the late Lord Granard's boroughs. This choice did great honor to the chancellor's discernment of character, as Scott not only answered, but even exceeded, the most sanguine expectations of the Lord Lieutenant. The opposition, at that time, was sufficiently formidable; being composed of the most leading families in the country, joined to great parliamentary talents, and led on by Flood, whose oratorical powers were then, perhaps, at their height. Against this lofty combination did Mr. Scott venture to oppose himself, with a promptitude and resolution almost unexampled. No menace from without doors, no invective within, no question, however popular, no retort, however applauded, no weight, or vehemence of eloquence, no airy and delicate satire, for a moment deterred this young, vigorous, and ardent assailant. On he moved, without much incumbrance of argument certainly, but all the light artillery, and total war of jests, and bon mots, pointed sarcasms, popular stories, and popular allusions, were entirely his own. He spoke, it must be confessed, very indifferently at first; but whilst his antagonists, and some of the fine gentlemen of the House, accustomed to a more fashionable and polished oratory, affected to regard his eloquence, (if, in their opinion, it deserved the name) as

a noisy torrent for ever voluble, and for ever the same, the older, and more sagacious members soon perceived where the force of his talents lay, and that he was not calculated to move in a subordinate sphere. On the death of Tisdall he succeeded to the place of attorney-general; and as, in a year or two afterwards, more important questions were agitated than had before engaged the attention of the House of Commons, he was obliged to come forward as the principal supporter of government; and encountered, of course, no small share of popular odium. Several of his enemies, and persons who talked without consideration, asserted that he displayed no talents whatever in defence of administration. But let justice be done to him. He spoke often with much ingenuity, and, in some instances, great address. It is true that, in the warmth and tumult of debate, arguing, as he frequently did, on grounds not at all tenable, opposed by as eloquent men as ever sat in the House of Commons, with the voice of the country calling aloud for freedom, and seconding all their efforts, he hazarded assertions, which, as he could not recall, his opponents would not suffer to pass without sharp animadversions. But, as some of Dryden's productions were, according to Hume, the offspring of haste and hunger, the positions which Mr. Scott often advanced, were the offspring of the moment, of a mind hurried, and driven beyond its sphere; in short, of a political combatant who was obliged, at any rate, to defend administration. In this situation, he was often ungenerously left almost alone; but, on looking back to those days, it may be said, that he was one of the best supports which ministers had in the House of Commons. The times were almost wild; much management was required; and where others would always have irritated, he generally conciliated. He was removed from the office of attorney-general, during the viceroyalty of the Duke of Portland; but in that of Lord Northington was appointed prime serjeant; and if popularity is said, very justly too, to be of a most transitory nature, public disapprobation is often equally so; for, whilst holding the latter situation, he was listened to with evident satisfaction, in that House, where, a year or two before, to make use of the words of Lord Clarendon, "he had rendered himself marvellously ungracious." But several, in a similar situation, would have rendered themselves still more so. He had many social virtues; and, in convivial hours, much unaffected wit and pleasantry, with a cordial civility of manners. To his great honour be it recorded, that he never forgot an obligation; and as his sagacity and know-

ledge of mankind must have been pre-eminent, so his gratitude to persons who had assisted him in the mediocrity of his fortune was unquestionable, and marked by real generosity and munificence.

Walter Hussey, who afterwards took the name of Burgh, and was advanced to the station of lord chief baron of the exchequer, came, at this time, into parliament, under the auspices of James, Duke of Leinster. He immediately joined the great opposition then formed against the administration of Lord Townshend. His speeches, when he first entered the House of Commons, were very brilliant, very figurative, and far more remarkable for that elegant, poetic taste which had highly distinguished him, when a member of the university, than any logical illustration, or depth of argument. But as he was blessed with great endowments, every session took away somewhat from the unnecessary splendour and redundancy of his harangues. To make use of a phrase of Cicero, in speaking of his own improvement in eloquence, his orations were gradually deprived of all fever.* Clearness of intellect, a subtle, refined, and polished wit, a gay, fertile, uncommonly fine imagination, very classical taste, superior harmony, and elegance of diction, peculiarly characterized this justly-celebrated man. Though without beauty, his countenance was manly, engaging, and expressive; his figure agreeable and interesting; his deportment eminently graceful.

To those who never heard him, as the fashion of this world in eloquence, as in all things, soon passes away, it may be no easy matter to convey a just idea of his style of speaking; it differed totally from the models which have been presented to us by some of the great masters of rhetoric in latter days. His eloquence was by no means gaudy, tumid, nor approaching to that species of oratory, which the Roman critics denominated Asiatic; but it was always decorated as the occasion required: it was often compressed, and pointed, though that could not be said to have been its general feature. It was sustained by great ingenuity, great rapidity of intellect, luminous and piercing satire; in refinement abundant, in simplicity sterile. The classical allusions of this orator, for he was most truly one, were so apposite, they followed each other in such bright, and varied succession, and, at times, spread such an unexpected, and triumphant blaze around his subject, that all persons, who were in the least

* "Quasi deferbuerat oratio."—
De Claris Oratoribus.

tinged with literature, could never be tired of listening to him. The Irish are a people of quick sensibility, and perfectly alive to every display of ingenuity, or illustrative wit. Never did the spirit of the nation soar higher than during the splendid days of the volunteer institution; and, when Hussey Burgh, alluding to some coercive English laws, and that institution, then in its proudest array, said in the House of Commons, "That such laws were sown like dragons' teeth, and sprung up in armed men,"* the applause which followed, and the glow of enthusiasm which he kindled in every mind, far exceed my powers of description.

Never did the graces more sedulously cherish, and uniformly attend any orator more than this amiable and elegant man. They embellished all that he said, all that he did; but the graces are fugitive or perishable. Of his admired speeches but few, if any records are now to be found; and of his harmonious flowing eloquence, it may be said, as Tacitus did of an eminent speaker in his time; "*Haterii canorum illud, et profluens, cum ipso extinctum est.*"†

He accepted the office of prime serjeant during the early part of Lord Buckinghamshire's administration, but the experience of one session convinced him, that his sentiments and those of the English and Irish cabinets, on the great questions relative to the independence of Ireland, would never assimilate. He soon grew weary of his situation; when his return to the standard of opposition was marked by all ranks of people, and especially his own profession, as a day of splendid triumph. Numerous were the congratulations which he received on this sacrifice of official emolument, to the duty which he owed to his country. That country he loved even to enthusiasm. He moved the question of a free trade for Ireland, as the only measure that could then rescue this kingdom from total decay. The resolution was concise, energetic, and successful.

* I remember Mr. Fox speaking of this allusion to the late Mr. Forbes, with peculiar approbation.

† It is to be observed, however, that the debate reporters in his time, were in general the most ignorant of human beings. Unless, therefore, his friends were at the trouble of preparing some of his speeches for the press, they must have been sadly disfigured. In a debate on the *mutiny* bill, Burgh quoted an opinion of Serjeant Maynard's. The reporters stated, that he very appositely introduced a saying of an *eminent Serjeant Major*

He supported Mr. Grattan in all the motions which finally laid prostrate the dominion of the British parliament over Ireland. When he did so, he was not unacquainted with the vindictive disposition of the English cabinet of that day, towards all who dared to maintain such propositions. One night, when he sat down after a most able, argumentative speech in favour of the just rights of Ireland, he turned to Mr. Grattan, " I have now," said he, " nor do I repent it, sealed the door against my own preferment; and I have made the fortune of the man opposite to me," naming a particular person who sat on the treasury bench.

He loved fame, he enjoyed the blaze of his own reputation, and the most unclouded moments of his life were not those when his exertions at the bar, or in the House of Commons, failed to receive their accustomed and ample tribute of admiration; that, indeed, but rarely happened; he felt it at particular moments, during his connection with the Buckinghamshire administration; nor did the general applause which he received counterbalance his temporary chagrin. A similar temperament is, I think, recorded of Racine; but he had not Racine's jealousy. On the contrary, the best intellectual displays of his contemporaries seemed always to be the most agreeable to him, and I can well attest, that he hailed the dawn of any young man's rising reputation with the tribute of kindred genius.

He died at a time of life when his faculties, always prompt and discriminating, approximated, as it should seem, to their fullest perfection. On the bench, where he sat more than one year, he had sometimes lost sight of that wise precept which lord Bacon lays down for the conduct of a judge towards an advocate at the bar. " You should not affect the opinion of poignancy and expedition, by an impatient, and catching hearing of the counsellors at the bar."* He seemed to be sensible of his deviation from this; to be convinced that security in our own opinions, like too great security in any thing, " is mortals chiefest enemy," and that, in our daily converse with the world, we meet with others who are far wiser than ourselves, even on those points where we fondly imagine our own wisdom to be the most authenticated. His honest desire not to feed contention, but bring it to as speedy a termination as could reasonably be wished, deserves great praise.

* Lord Bacon's speech to Judge Hutton, on being made a Judge of the Common Pleas.

" He did not" says Mr. Flood, alluding to him in one of his speeches, "live to be ennobled, but he was ennobled by nature." I value the just prerogatives of ancient nobility, but to the tears and regrets of a nation, bending over the urn of public and private excellence, as Ireland did over his, what has Heraldry to add, or, at such moments, what can it bestow?

Sir William Osborne was a most attentive, acute, and discriminating member of the House of Commons. He was always particularly attended to. There were few whose remarks, at certain moments, were more shrewd and pointed. When a gentleman, now no more, made his first speech in the House of Commons, Sir William asked who he was; and being told; "Well," he replied, "I think he will do. But I observe that, contrary to the general practice of his family, he speaks on the side of Opposition. If the Opposition have enlisted him they are perfectly in the right, for he seems to have the *finest face for a grievance* of any man I ever beheld." Many similar neat and apposite sayings are recorded of him.

Mr. Henry Flood was by far one of the ablest men that ever sat in the Irish Parliament. As he will appear frequently in the course of these memoirs, I shall not enter here into his character as entirely as I otherwise should. He came into the House of Commons, and spoke during the administration of the Earl of Halifax. Hamilton's success, as a speaker, drew him instantly forward, and his first parliamentary essay was brilliant and imposing. Hutchinson, who was at that time with the court, replied to him, but with many compliments, and, as has been already observed, he was almost generally applauded, except by Primate Stone. He was a consummate member of Parliament. Active, ardent, and persevering, his industry was without limits. In advancing, and, according to the parliamentary phrase, driving a question, he was unrivalled; as, for instance, his dissertations, for such they were, on the law of Poynings, and similar topics. He was in himself an Opposition, and possessed the talent, (in political warfare a most formidable one) of tormenting a minister, and every day adding to his disquietude. When attacked, he was always most successful, and to form an accurate idea of his excellence, it was necessary to be present when he was engaged in such contests, for his introductory, or formal speeches were often heavy and laboured, yet still replete with just argument; and through the whole were diffused a certain pathos, an apparent public care, with which a popular assembly is almost

always in unison. His taste was not the most correct, and his studied manner was slow, harsh, and austere ; the very reverse of Hamilton, whose trophies first pointed the way to Flood's genius, and whom he avowedly attempted to emulate. But in skirmishing, in returning with rapidity to the charge, though at first shaken, and nearly discomfited, his quickness, his address, his powers of retort, and of insinuation, were never exceeded in Parliament. However, it was from the whole of the campaign that his abilities were to be duly appreciated. He entered, as has been observed by his illustrious opponent,* rather late into the British House of Commons, and was never fairly tried there. His first exhibition was unsuccessful, and it seems to have indisposed him, for a considerable time at least, to any subsequent parliamentary effort. Besides, at the moment that he became a member, that house was completely divided into two distinct contending powers, led on by two mighty leaders ; and his declaration, at the onset, that he belonged to no party, united all parties against him. His speech on the India bill, was, as he assured a gentleman from whom I had it, in some measure accidental. The debate had been prolonged to a very late hour, when he got up with the intention merely of saying, that he would defer giving his detailed opinion on the bill, (to which he was adverse) till a more favourable opportunity. The moment that he arose, the politeness of the Speaker, in requesting order, the eagerness of the opponents of the bill, who knew that Flood was with them, seconding the efforts of the Speaker, the civility always paid to any new member, and his particular celebrity as an orator, brought back the crowd from the bar, from above stairs at Bellamy's, and, in short, from the lobby, and every part adjoining the House. There was much civility in this, mingled with no slight curiosity, and altogether it was sufficient to discompose most men. All the members resumed their places, and a general silence took place. Such a flattering attention, he thought, should be repaid by more than one or two sentences. He went on, trusting to his usual powers as a speaker, when, after some diffuse and general reasonings on the subject, which proved, that he was not much acquainted with it, he sat down amid the exultation of his adversaries, and the complete discomfiture, not of his friends, for he could be scarcely said to have one in the house, but of those whose minds breathed nothing but parliamentary, indeed almost personal, warfare, and

* Mr. Grattan.

expected much from his assistance. Altogether the disappointment was universal. He spoke, and very fully, some years afterwards, on two or three occasions. On the French treaty, (his speech was published) and, on the parliamentary reform. On the last-mentioned subject his progress was correspondent to that which has been already stated of him. He introduced it with a heavy solemnity, and great, but laborious knowledge. But his reply, especially to Mr. now Lord, Grenville was, as I have been assured, incomparable, and Mr. Burke particularly applauded it.

Till his acceptance of office, in 1775, he was the uniform friend and supporter of Lord Charlemont, who, indeed, scarcely took a political step without him. Their intimacy then ceased. It revived again, in some measure, when Flood revived his opposition; and was again eclipsed, not extinguished, by their adoption of different sentiments, at the time of what was called the simple repeal, in the autumn of 1782. It shall be alluded to hereafter. Lord Charlemont was highly indignant at Flood's journey to Belfast, and exciting a violent ferment there; among Lord Charlemont's particular friends too! That cloud, however, passed away; and either, as has been said, politicians do not love, nor hate, or their ancient affections were then really united, and a cordial intercourse of letters took place during the regency. To such vicissitudes are political lives subject. Lord Charlemont was always amiable, and Flood possessed, or certainly could display, most engaging manners. He was extremely pleasing in private intercourse; well bred, open, and hospitable. His figure was tall, erect, graceful; and in youth, his countenance, however changed in our days, was of correspondent beauty. On the whole, he made a conspicuous figure in the annals of his country, and he is entitled to the respect of every public-spirited man in it, for unquestionably he was the senator who, by his exertions, and repeated discussion of questions, seldom, if ever approached before, first taught Ireland that it had a parliament. Mr. Flood died in December, 1791.

Mr. Daly was for many years a most distinguished member of the House of Commons, and co-operated with Lord Charlemont, till the administration of the Earl of Carlisle, when he accepted the place of Muster-Master-General, but the friendship between him and Lord Charlemont remained unaltered. He was descended from an ancient family, some of whom were remarkable for strength of understanding, and distinguished themselves at the bar, and in Parliament. His

direct ancestor was Denis Daly, who was a judge and privy counsellor in the reign of James the Second. A man of remarkable ability. Henry, Lord Clarendon, at that time Lord Lieutenant, speaks of him frequently, always with respect, and, alluding to his family, says, " That he was of a race truly Irish, and bred under the famous Patrick Darcy, a name so well known in the preceding troubles."

Mr. Daly, whom I now touch on, was born in 1747, educated at Christ-Church, Oxford, and came into Parliament, as the representative of the county of Galway, in 1768. He was uncommonly gifted; for in him were united much beauty and dignity of person, great private worth, great spirit, extensive erudition, and penetrating genius. Seldom was any man more regarded in the House of Commons than he was, not only whilst he continued with Opposition, but after he had joined Government, and indeed till the time of his death. He was rather an eminent speaker and orator, than a debater. In the general business of the house he did not at all engage, but when he was forced to reply, he spoke, though very shortly, with a promptitude and animation that were almost peculiar to him. His oratory was rapid, unaffected, displaying great energy of intellect, much fortitude of mind, dignified, not austere, nothing morose, but nothing ludicrous, or jesting; still, however, solving grave debate with powers of ridicule, that almost put corruption out of countenance, and pouring itself forth in sentences so constructed, as to style, and invigorated, as to sentiment, that his hearers were, in truth, not only convinced, but conquered. It is to be lamented that some of his speeches have not been preserved. That on the embargo, in December, 1777, when he opposed government, and in which he replied with such an overwhelming disdain of the imbecile policy, and puny battle of his opponents; such a blended force of diction and of reasoning, was so completely excellent in every part, as would alone justify the fullest panegyric on his oratory. It was the most perfect model of parliamentary speaking, that, in my opinion, could be exhibited. It is said, that in council he was superior. On some great questions he stood almost alone, and he was right. The measures that he advised were bold and rapid. At a meeting of the friends of government, in 1783, when Mr. Flood had announced his intention to the House of Commons, of bringing forward the reform bill, which had been, in fact, prepared by the Convention, Mr. Daly infused his own spirit into the minds of several who were wavering, and prepared the resolution which Mr. Conolly moved in the House of Commons. If he

leaned to any party in the state, it was to a qualified aristocracy, accompanied with the utmost repugnance to jobbing. In fact, he was neither the tool, nor the idol of any party. He served the crown with such a port and dignity, that, at particular moments, government seemed to be borne along by him. As he loved liberty he uttered the most poignant sentiments against all public excesses, and, in truth, he seemed to have a horror of all public tumult. The people were ultimately served thereby, for he acquired an authority with ministers, which checked their excesses also; and, as he did not run headlong with either, he seemed to command both. He had pride, but it was a pride that led him to excel, and was not obtrusive, or revolting. He was not only good humoured, but extremely playful. In private society he was above the practice of satire, and if ever he resorted to it, it was only to check the satirist, and with delicacy make him feel, that he himself was also vulnerable. Good manners in him seemed an emanation of good nature; and, as an illustrious friend of his, who lived in great intimacy with him, has more than once remarked to me, to know him, and not to love him was impossible. He was a classical scholar, and not only collected the best editions of the great authors of antiquity, but read books with the ardor of a real lover of literature. His library was uncommonly valuable, and was sold, I believe, at a very high price. It may not perhaps be thought superfluous to state in this place, that, in a conversation which he once had with the author of these Memoirs, he said, that as to English prose-writers, the style of Dryden, and that of Andrew Stuart, in his letters to Lord Mansfield, especially the concluding part of them, were, in his opinion, the best models which any young man could attend to, who wished to speak in the House of Commons.

He once made an observation to me which shewed such a general knowledge of the Irish House of Commons at that time, that I never shall forget it. On some question, (no matter what) the court was either left in a minority, or obliged to withdraw it. Some member attempted to pursue this apparent triumph by a more decisive resolution. "How little is he acquainted with this house!" said Mr. Daly. "Were I a minister, and wished to carry a very untoward measure, it would be directly after we had passed some strong resolution against the court. So blended is the good nature of Irish gentlemen with their habitual acquiescence, that, unless party, or the times, are very violent indeed, we always wish to shrink from a second resolution against a minister, and to make, as it were, some atone-

ment for our precipitant patriotism, by as rapid a return to our original civility and complaisance."

He died at an early period, not very much beyond forty. A nervous disorder, to which he had been long subject, at last closed his days. He rose to speak one night in the House of Commons, when, after delivering a sentence or two, with imperfect articulation, he made a full pause. The house cheered him with its usual approbation and respect. He continued silent. It was then perceived that his malady had so much increased, as to render him totally unable to go on. The stillness which succeeded for some moments, and the generous sympathy which the House displayed, anxious at the same time to conceal, if possible, their feelings from him, produced the most interesting, indeed affecting scene, which I ever witnessed in any popular assembly. It was the last effort he ever made to express his sentiments in public.

Such were the principal personages who were now engaged in parliament. Though the new parliament was elected in the summer of 1768, it did not meet till October, 1769. Lord Frederick Campbell, at the commencement of that year, had relinquished his situation as the Viceroy's secretary, to Sir George, afterwards Lord Macartney; an Irishman, handsome, young, very well, or rather very agreeably informed, lively and amusing; he was, on his arrival here, extremely courted and sought after. Early in life he had been much connected with the Holland family, and the old Lord Holland often said, that Macartney was one of the few persons patronized by him, who did not return their obligations with the most singular ingratitude. Under the influence of that connection, he had been sent ambassador to Russia, and his talents were more suited to courts than a divided House of Commons, which it was his fortune to encounter here. His oratorical powers were inconsiderable, and his tones in speaking seemed to be modelled on those of the old stage, which partook more of a monotonous recitative, than the variety, fullness, and energy which command the attention of modern assemblies. Although he spoke in a conciliating manner he did not conciliate; his rhetoric was regarded as too feeble, even by his own party; and, by the opposition, was almost contemned. Had he not been Secretary, he would have been totally passed over as a speaker. In his official situation, and in such a tumultuous session, he was, as might be expected, treated often with roughness and asperity; personal rudeness he would not

have brooked; he had too high a spirit. His disinterested conduct in his different governments calls forth every eulogium; but that has no place here.

As the session approached, administration and opposition prepared for battle. With such an enemy to combat as the old aristocracy, far more acute in party management than those who took their places, common policy demanded the propriety of narrowing the ground of combat, by affording scope for such a paucity of questions, merely, as the necessary business of the House could not elude the discussion of.

Agreeable to Poyning's act, the Irish privy council was bound to certify a bill to the English council, as one of the causes for holding a parliament here. It was the opinion of the most sound and moderate statesmen, that there was no absolute necessity to certify a money bill for that purpose, but that any other bill would equally meet the intentions of Poyning's act. But the Cabinet thought proper to shew to the House of Commons its ministerial power, and the insignificancy of the representatives of the Irish people. A money bill was certified, and, as some leaders on the aristocratic side exactly wished, for it laid the ground of parliamentary hostility.

On any other question, save that of holding the purse of the nation, the old aristocracy would not have met immediate or extended support. On this, the whole popular independent party, with Lord Charlemont and Mr. Flood at their head, formed a junction with the very men whom, perhaps, they otherwise would have opposed, and rejected the money bill. The reason stated by the House of Commons was, that it did not take its rise in their house. Against this vote Lord Townshend protested. Lord Charlemont, however, was not deficient in vigilance. A motion was made under his direction, which, though negatived as he expected, attained its sole object of entering a strong protest on the journals against Lord Townshend's expected one, before he prorogued the parliament. The protest had many signatures, and both Houses were angrily dismissed till the March following. Thus, instead of harmony, confidence, a more enlarged and conciliating spirit of government, which were to await the new system, it was now universally exclaimed against, and even the unpopularity of the old undertakers was lost in that of the Lord Lieutenant.

Parliament did not meet again till March, 1771; at last it did meet, and Lord Townshend carried a majority, though not without great difficulty, in the

House of Commons. But though he was successful, the opposition was formidable. Lord Charlemont exerted himself to the utmost. The consequences of such exertions were displayed in a succession of protests, breathing a language the most ardent and most constitutional. Sixteen or eighteen peers, some of the highest rank, the Duke of Leinster, and others, signed these protests,—an unusual assemblage in the Lords of Ireland. To obtain these majorities the administration did not confine itself within the limits of what may be termed influence. It overstepped all such bounds. New places, new pensions, new boards, burst upon the public with melancholy, and even frightful, alacrity. This has been called expending half a million to put down the aristocracy of Ireland, and the assertion has been re-echoed with stupid admiration. The truth is, that it was expended to put down the people through their representatives. No matter from what motives the aristocracy opposed Lord Townshend, the commons opposed him most justly, and asserted their own rights, when they rejected the money bill.

The Triple alliance, however, of aristocracy, undertakers, and their newly-confederated powers, now gave way. To this surrender, the principal event which contributed was Mr. Ponsonby's resignation of the chair of the House of Commons. That gentleman, allied to the principal whig families in both kingdoms, possessed not only great influence from such connections, and his high stations, but from personal disposition, which was truly amiable. His manners were exactly such as a parliamentary leader should have. Open, affable, and familiar; he had peculiar dignity of person, at once imposing and engaging. The Commons had, by a majority of twenty-seven, humbly thanked his Majesty for continuing Lord Townshend in the government. Mr. Ponsonby said, in his letter to the House of Commons, that he would not be the instrument of carrying such address, and resigned the chair. The Duke of Leinster* and Lord Charlemont had, in vain, endeavoured to dissuade him from this resignation. The night before it took place, his Lordship, who was particularly urged to the interview by the Duke, sat up with Mr. Ponsonby till a very late hour, and urged every reason which his mind could suggest, for continuing as he was; that, to carry up the address was merely ministerial, and to relinquish his

* James, Duke of Leinster, grandfather to the present Duke.

situation, which was still the source of very formidable power, was serving, even criminally, those whom he was bound by his own doctrine to oppose, according to Lord Charlemont's phrase, *à toute outrance;* that, as he was not without some apprehensions of being voted out of the chair, Lord Charlemont represented the extreme difficulty of such a step, admitting even the malignity of his enemies, in its fullest force; to which his Lordship added an observation, founded on consummate experience of his countrymen, at that time at least, that, in a country where personal friendships are as strong as public principle, combated as it is, is weak, such fears were totally groundless. Lord Charlemont left him, fully persuaded that he had succeeded in his mission, but the proceedings of the House of Commons next morning convinced him of the contrary.

It has been already stated, that the money bill was the rock on which Lord Townshend's ministry struck. That question should, of all others, have been avoided. It is, to a degree, puerile to say, that the aristocracy opposed the money bill from factious motives. That consideration does not make its origin more legitimate, or the policy of those who brought it forward less censurable. It is extremely probable, that some, nay many, of the members in the parliaments of Charles the First, opposed that prince, or his ministers, from selfish, and interested views. What then? His tyranny is not the less to be condemned; and when he agitated the very questions which he should not have agitated, he only prepared the road for the downfal of his power. The spirit of the times was totally changed, and the minister, who only pores over the statute-book, when he should consult that spirit, knows nothing of his business. Lord Townshend's protest against the proceedings of the Commons is grounded on Lord Sydney's, in king William's reign. As if Ireland, in 1769, bore any resemblance to Ireland in 1692. Bad or silly conduct will always find far more precedents to colour its misdoings, than good conduct ever can.

If Lord North had insisted, in 1779, on continuing the restrictions on our woollen manufacture, because they were laid on by King William, or his ministers, he would not have deserved an answer. If it is not found expedient to repeal an act of Parliament, which militates against the first principles of the constitution, that act should be shunned, not brought forward. Poyning's law was unnecessarily and wantonly brought forward by Lord Townshend's

advisers, or the English cabinet; and by doing that which their enemies wished them to do, they involved themselves and the country in sad confusion. To circumscribe the power of the oligarchy, and the undertakers, was very different from annihilating, or wishing to crush into insignificancy, some of the most respectable families in the country. The ancestors of those families had borne the brunt of hostile times, and there was a claim on their part, not indeed to do wrong, but not to be extinguished by government. It had become the fashion of the court in England, for some years back, to decry the persons, the principles, of the old whig families, and the same system seemed to be resolved on here. Lord Charlemont could not join in that system. He thought, and many wise men thought with him, that national freedom might find, as at the revolution, no slight bulwark in the undecayed support of certain noble houses, which, to hereditary possessions, joined hereditary principles of enlarged policy, and which they wished to maintain equally with their estates. Better to resort to such men, than to adventurers who proclaimed themselves of no party, solely to be tied by no principle. If power and place were taken even from the undertakers, to be lodged in the Secretary's office, and thence to be distributed to those only who could shew a badge of servitude in parliament, to entitle them to a meagre share of either; strangers to Irishmen, or Irishmen who acted only as strangers to their country, aliens, sojourners in all lands but their own, the people considered themselves as little benefited by the change; the triumphs of the Castle, or those of the oligarchy.

Every bad doctrine, with regard to this country, was not only not deviated from at this time, but adhered to with most unconstitutional rigour. Publications, treating the parliament as a mob, the country as subjugated, and the necessity of the English legislature taxing us for our own preservation, were multiplied with the most revolting variety. If the Octennial bill had been hypocritically supported by the oligarchy, it was reluctantly conceded by the cabinet; and early in the first parliament, which met after that bill had passed, Ireland was told by the secretary, that a money bill, originating in a body, emanating solely from the crown, that is, the privy council, was a fine paid by the people of Ireland, for the meeting of any parliament whatever. No wonder that such language created a host of opponents; and it is necessary to re-state it here, as the opposition which Lord Townshend met in Ireland has, by repeated misre-

presentations, been attributed *solely* to the aristocracy. That body was certainly very hostile to him, and, I doubt not, from very improper motives. But such doctrines as above-mentioned, and the avowed system of court influence, directed against the House of Commons, increased the opposition, and alone gave temporary strength to the aristocracy which otherwise it would not have known. A better system of government would have equally, and, perhaps, far more speedily, have circumscribed its power.

It may not be disagreeable to some readers to leave such politics for a time, and pass to more tranquil and pleasing subjects. In the midst of all these political contests, Lord Charlemont never lost sight of literature. He was well versed in that of ancient days; but Italian literature had long engaged his attention. He, at this time, meditated a history of the poetry of that interesting country from the time of Dante to that of Metastasio. But a variety of occupations diverted his attention from that work for several years. He, at last, resumed it in 1785, and has left a most pleasing, accurate, and critical account of the best poets of Italy, during the time I have mentioned. It may one day, I hope, see the light. Some further account of it shall be given hereafter.—That Lord Charlemont was well qualified for the office of historian of Italian poetry, may, I think, be admitted from Baretti's dedication to him, of the "Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy." "Your "knowledge of the manners and language of Italy is hardly less than my own, "who am a native of that country; and your knowledge of its literature much "more extensive."* Baretti always lived in intimacy with Lord Charlemont. The two following letters from him, one written soon after his acquittal at the Old Bailey, for the accidental killing of a man in the Haymarket; and another, which is no imperfect representation of his mind, whimsical and original, may find a place here, more especially as they fall in with this period of Lord Charlemont's life.

London, October 25th, 1769.

My Lord,

Doubtless the public papers have apprized your lordship of the dreadful adventure I met with on the 6th instant, the very day, I think, that I received

* In the Lettere Familiari e Critiche di Vincenzio Martinelli, London, 1758, there are two letters addressed to Lord Charlemont. "Sopra L'Ariosto."

your kind letter. During a fortnight, you may well imagine, my lord, that I could not easily turn my thoughts to any other thing, but the danger of losing, by a jury, that life which had wonderfully escaped a gang of ruffians. Yet, however great my apprehensions, I think that my friends had no fault to find with my fortitude. Your lordship must know, by this time, that my confidence was not frustrated in the least, and that I have been honourably acquitted, after a trial of near five hours. The audience was so perfectly satisfied with my innocence, that the verdict was echoed with a general shout of approbation. Immediately after the trial, I would have given due thanks to your lordship, for your expressions, but the agitation of my mind had not then subsided enough to permit me the free use of my pen. I am sure you will easily pardon the dilatoriness. I thank you now with all my heart, and ardently wish to see your lordship on this side the water, to talk awhile on this subject, which you will own to have been more interesting to me, than my or Mr. Sharpe's nonsense about Italian customs or manners. What would I have given to have seen Lord Charlemont amongst my friends upon that occasion! A great deal indeed! However, those I had about me did their part so well that they have made me an Englishman for ever. I am sure I will be buried, in due time, under that very ground which is trod by so many generous men.

I am, my Lord,
with the greatest respect and affection,
your lordship's most humble, and most obliged humble servant,
JOSEPH BARETTI.

London, Feb. 15, 1772.

MY LORD,

I thank you for your kind condescension for apologizing, when there was not the shadow of necessity for any apology; and I forbear making a necessary one for my delay, in telling your lordship that I have executed your commission, least I should be thought so confident as to presume to pay you in kind, and give you tit for tat, as the saying is. However, it is an indisputable fact, that I have a deal of work to dispatch every day; that is, a couple of devils, (Printer's devils) to deliver myself from very regularly twice a day, Sundays excepted; and twelve pages of Don Quixote, if not fourteen, to translate every day; and almost every day, many letters to write in many languages. So that your

lordship would certainly commiserate the poor drudge, could you form a just idea of my incessant fatigues. See here, my lord, what callosities I have upon this thumb of mine, and got by my continual squeezing of a pen. But, quoth Lord Charlemont, why do you, my old friend, work so very hard ? A pretty question indeed, my good lord; why I work ! faith for no other reason, but because I hate work, and want to be idle; what other motive could I have, since idleness is the very blank at which diligence, and industry, are for ever aiming.

I have shewn Dr. Johnson your lordship's letter, and he charges me to give you a thousand thanks for your kind words; yet wonders how you seem to think him of any party but your's, knowing, as he does, that your's is that of philosophy and virtue. Sir Joshua, and Cipriani, have likewise seen the contents of your letter: Cipriani told me, that he would answer for himself, and Sir Joshua says, that Bartolozzi would fain engrave the picture before it is sent to you, so that, if your lordship has no objection, Bartolozzi shall have it first, otherwise it will be sent forthwith.

Coming now back to speak of my dear self, I must, for once, and very gravely, expostulate with your lordship as to that oblique, but degrading accusation, of my being little less than apathically indifferent about politics. Jesus! Jesus ! How wrong and unjust those lords are apt to be, when they take it in their heads so to be. Is such an accusation to be brought against a man, who has for these four months past been impairing his sight, wearing out his thumbs, and exhausting his patience in diligently collecting half a dozen editions of Machiavel's works, in order to strike out a new one in three enormous quartos. Come forth of thy back shop, thou Tom Davies, Bookseller, *de mis Pecados!* Come forth to bear witness against this lord, as how I have been, and am still, sunk into the very deepest abyss of politics Machiavelian! Was not Machiavel the identical bell-wether of all, and every one of, the political flock ? The first, the best, the damnedest of them all ? and how am I to be taxed with indifference about politics, who am now invested by bookseller's authority, with the power of supervising and ushering the chief code of that science into a new edition, and am actually doing it. However, though a thorough politician, I will be so far honest as to own, there was a time when I was tainted with doctrines unsound; for instance, there was a time,

when my notion of liberty, (and liberty is the axis round which all manner of politics turns) when my notion of liberty was, that any native of any land was a freeman, provided he had where withal to fill his guts after his own taste, together with a tolerable share of prudence; there was a time when I thought the French to be no slaves, but when actually tugging at the oar in the gallies; when I was persuaded it was matter of indifference, whether rogues were hanged by a dozen of shop-keepers, or a dozen of senators; when I thought it beastly, that some hundreds of hot-headed rascals should presume to turn a thief into a legislator, and to bring him among some honest custard-eaters, that he might grow fat as a pig, when he deserved to be kept as lean as a Lizzard. There was a time, my lord, when I thought that a bastard kind of liberty, that did permit a multitude of Catos, Brutuses, Senecas, and Socrates' to call Johnson a hireling, Warburton an atheist, Burke a jesuit, Mansfield an ass, Wilkes a saint, and Junius the saviour of his country. A multitude of such foolish notions, I own, I once fostered in my idle pate. But my long meditations on Machiavel, together with a careful perusal of Algernon Sidney's works, and Molesworth's account of Denmark, have turned me into a genuine lover of liberty. So Huzza, my boys, Wilkes and liberty for ever, and a plague upon my former apathy about politics. But my paper is at an end, and I have just room tosubscribe myself.

My Lord,

Your most faithful, and most obedient servant,

JOSEPH BARETTI.

Baretti was a splenetic man, and it may be presumed, from this letter, that his politics, and those of Lord Charlemont, did not exactly correspond. But his lordship very justly considered that as a matter of entire indifference, and always valued him for his literary attainments, and his many good qualities.

At what time Lord Charlemont's acquaintance with Mr. Horace Walpole, (Earl of Orford) commenced, I know not. The following letter is from Mr. Walpole; it alludes, as usual, to the arts, or artists, literature, and that tragedy of the Mysterious Mother, which has been just mentioned, and, some years afterwards, was the subject of a few letters between them.

Arlington-street, October 17th, 1770.

My Lord,

I am very glad your Lordship resisted your disposition to make me an apology for doing me a great honour, for if you had not, the Lord knows where I should have found words to have made a proper return. Still you have left me greatly in your debt. It is very kind to remember me, and kinder to honour me with your commands; they shall be zealously obeyed to the utmost of my little credit, for an artist that your Lordship patronizes will, I imagine, want little recommendation, besides his own talents. It does not look, indeed, like very prompt obedience, when I am yet guessing only at Mr. Jervais's merit; but though he has lodged himself within a few doors of me, I have not been able to get to him, having been confined near two months with the gout, and still keeping my house. My first visit shall be to gratify my duty and curiosity. I am sorry to say, and beg your Lordship's pardon for the confession, that, however high an opinion I have of your taste, in the arts, I do not equally respect your judgment in books. It is in truth a defect you have in common with the two great men, who are the respective models of our present parties, the hero William, and the Martyr Charles. You know what happened to them after patronizing Kneller and Bernini, one knighted Blackmore, and one pensioned Quarles.

After so saucy an attack, my Lord, it is time to produce my proof. It lays in your own postcript, where you express a curiosity to see a certain tragedy, with a hint that other works of the same author have found favour in your sight, and that the piece ought to have been sent to you. But, my Lord, even your approbation has not made that author vain; and for the play in question it has so many perils to encounter, that it never thinks of producing itself. It peeped out of its lurking corner once or twice, and one of those times, by the negligence of a friend, had like to have been, what is often pretended in prefaces, *stolen*, and *consigned to the press*. When your Lordship comes to England,* which, for every reason but that, I hope will be soon, you shall certainly see it; and will then allow, I am sure, how improper it would be for the author to risque its appearance in public. However, unworthy as that author may be from his talents, of your

* He had been for a short time the preceding spring in London.

Lordship's favour, do not let his demerits be confounded with the esteem and attachment with which he has the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most devoted servant,

Hor. Walpole.

To detail the various measures which engaged Lord Townshend's administration would be unnecessary. With some exceptions, they were generally disapproved of. He lived with a particular and chosen society, and was as much, and justly admired by them, as an excellent companion, as abroad he was exclaimed against as a Viceroy. His social talents were sometimes even set forth, though very absurdly, as a defence of the errors of his administration. "The Lord Lieutenant says more good things in one night, than are perhaps uttered in this House during a whole session." This I heard Provost Andrews say, on some charge against Lord Townshend, for extending too far the influence of the crown. No doubt it might have been strictly true; but what a speech for the House of Commons!

Towards the close of this administration, died Charles Lucas, member for the city of Dublin. A man extremely well known, and not only for some part of his life politically, but professionally, connected with Lord Charlemont, as he was originally an apothecary, but afterwards acted, and was much esteemed, as a physician. Lord Charlemont, on his return from abroad, consulted him in London, and often said, that he received more benefit from the advice of Lucas, than all his physicians.

Lucas was a man of a bold and ardent nature. In the year 1743, he first distinguished himself in the corporation of Dublin, which, at that time, laboured under gross mismanagement. He particularly exclaimed against the board of Aldermen, and in this opposition he met a coadjutor in Mr. Digges Latouche, a most intelligent and respectable merchant, but of a temper totally distinct from that of Lucas. During their opposition in the common council, a vacancy happened in the representation of the city of Dublin, by the death of Sir James

Somerville.* Latouche first, and Lucas afterwards, declared themselves candidates. This created a distinct interest between them. In fact, they had never been cordially united, and Lucas attacked Mr. Latouche with much intemperate abuse. In less than a year afterwards, the death of Alderman Pearson, the other representative of Dublin, closed their contests, and both would, in all probability, have been elected, although Sir Samuel Cooke, and Mr. Charles Burton, were opposed to them by the board of Aldermen, and the Castle interest, had not the court thought proper to get rid of Lucas at all events. Accordingly, on the second day of the sessions, 1749, complaint was made to the House of Commons of certain seditious writings by Lucas, which were, after some fruitless opposition, unanimously voted highly criminal, the Attorney-General desired to prosecute him, and he himself ordered to Newgate. However, he withdrew to England, which was all that was wanted; and, to prevent his return to Ireland, he was voted an enemy to his country. The perfidy of the Castle, the profligacy of the House of Commons, and the spirit of the people, which was only hushed into silence, not subdued, deserve, on this occasion, to be recorded. Lucas had been induced, by some vague, but flattering terms of support, to go to the castle; and was there so cordially listened to, that he left with the Lord Lieutenant,† in his own justification, some pamphlets which had been much censured by the dependants on government. When he was brought before the House of Commons, he was merely asked, whether he was the author of such and such papers? It would have been scarcely possible to have proved him so, for the printer was not to be found, and no other evidence was to be had, when Mr. Weston, the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, had the astonishing and profligate impudence to produce the very papers which Lucas had left at the Castle, and which, of course, could not be denied by him, had he been disposed to take refuge in that way!—So much for the conduct of some courtiers in those days. As to the people, humiliated as they were, at this time, yet Lucas having asserted in various parts of his writings, the independency of Ireland, so far as related to its Parliament, the managers against him were totally afraid to meet the people, or Lucas, on that ground, and selected such of his papers, as with much indiscreetness, perhaps

* 16th of August, 1748.

† The Earl of Harrington. This, of course, was before the attack on him in the House of Commons.

coarseness of phrase, assailed particular departments of the government. But all was general. The heads of papers were mentioned, and no single detached paragraph attempted to be pointed out.

I may be tedious, but it is somewhat curious to pursue this subject a little farther. Mr. Latouche proceeded to the poll alone, and, after a dreadful contest with the Castle, in favour of Burton, was, with Sir Samuel Cooke, declared duly elected. The indignation of the court knew no bounds. A petition was presented against his return, and, on the sole accusation of being joined to and influenced by Lucas, which was notoriously false, and if true, could not have vacated his seat, he was voted out of it, and Mr. Burton placed in his stead. A more infamous proceeding perhaps never disgraced any House of Commons. To return to Lucas. He pursued his profession in London, and having written an "Essay on Waters," was honoured with the support of Dr. Johnson, who, in his review of that publication, recommends him to the notice of the people of England, in the following spirited and energetic manner: "The Irish ministers drove him from his native country, by a proclamation, in which they charged him with crimes which they never intended to be called to the proof, and oppressed him by methods equally irresistible by guilt and innocence. Let the man, thus driven into exile for having been the friend of his country, be received in every other place as a confessor of liberty; and let the tools of power be taught in time, that they may rob, but cannot impoverish." At length he was enabled, by the interposition of some powerful interests, to return to Ireland, when, on the death of his late Majesty, he was elected for the city of Dublin, and held that truly respectable situation to the time of his death.

As a politician, he was, as the Duc de Beaufort was called, during the time of the Fronde at Paris, *un roi des halles*,—a sovereign of the corporations. In the House of Commons his importance was withered, and comparatively shrunk to nothing, for the most furious reformer must admit, that, however the representation was, in too many instances, narrowed into private interests, it still embraced the most conspicuous and useful orders in the state; where, if education and knowledge are not to be found, how are they to be sought after? Lucas had, in truth, little or no knowledge as a leader in Parliament; and his efforts there were too often displayed in a sort of tempestuous alacrity to combat men, whose lofty disregard of him left them at full liberty to pursue their argument, as if

nothing had disturbed them. Self-command, whether constitutional, or arising from occasional contempt, is a most potent auxiliary. His opponents were sometimes indeed rendered indignant, but, whether calm, or angry, the battle always left him worse than before.—Yet, with all this precipitancy, and too frequent want of knowledge, he annexed a species of dignity to himself in the House of Commons, which was not without its effect. His infirmities, for he was always carried into, and out of the House, being so enfeebled by the gout, that he could scarcely stand for a moment; the gravity, and uncommon neatness of his dress; his grey, and venerable locks blending with a pale, but interesting countenance, in which an air of beauty was still visible, altogether excited attention; and I never saw a stranger come into the House without asking who he was. The surest proof of his being in some way or other formidable to ministers, was the constant abuse of him in their papers. The wits of Lord Townshend's administration, (there were many employed in its service,) assailed him in every way that their malign vivacity could suggest. Their efforts are forgotten. His services remain. He had certainly talents, but talents unaided by cultivation. Originality is much. He raised his voice, when all around was desolation and silence. He began with a corporation, and he ended with a kingdom; for some of the topics which he suggested, now nearly seventy years ago, such as the octennial bill, and other measures, were of vital magnitude to Ireland. Lord Charlemont always regarded him. His remains were honoured with a public funeral, and his statue has been placed in the Royal Exchange of Dublin.

After a residence of five years, Lord Townshend was at last recalled, as the decorums of a court, and dignity of representation, were, by the old courtiers, said to be not exactly, or uniformly sustained by his Excellency. This consideration, aided by a particular ministerial influence, might possibly have had some weight in the nomination of his successor. The Earl Harcourt, who followed Lord Townshend in the government, had passed almost the whole of his life in courts, for which the softness, and refined politeness of his manners, eminently qualified him. He was grandson to Lord Chancellor Harcourt, a most eloquent and able man, much superior, in Sir Robert Walpole's opinion, to Lord Cowper. His son, our Viceroy's father, possessed an agreeable, poetic genius; and some persons said, that he was the author of that peculiarly graceful, and witty song,

" Kitty, Beautiful and Young;" but Prior's muse cannot be deprived of one of its most charming ornaments without the clearest authority. Lord Harcourt, now Lord Lieutenant, had been Governor to his Majesty when Prince of Wales."* Some whigs murmured that the grandson of Sacheverel's eminent advocate, should be appointed to such a situation. But their murmurs ceased, when they found him resigning his office, because persons were placed about the Prince, whose principles he considered as inimical to the revolution. This step, however, did not exile him, at a future day, from St. James's. He was appointed to some station in the household, attended her majesty to England, on her first arrival there, and afterwards went ambassador to France. His next advancement was to the Viceroyalty of Ireland. His Secretary, and sole minister, on whom the whole burthen of public affairs lay, attended with a proportionable share of unpopularity, except during the agitation of the absentee tax, was Colonel, now Lord de Blacquiere. A stranger to this country, he caught its manners, " Living as they rose," or, at least, the manners of those whom he was obliged to cultivate, with peculiar and rapid discernment. He courted them, he fed them. But he knew the importance of a table, especially in this country, and distributed his best Margoux with a very becoming profusion. Lord Macartney used to say, that the Irish privy council formed a branch, not merely of the Irish government, but of the Irish legislature. If he had added, that, that most august, and winning personage, a French cook, formed also a very efficient adjunct to our council, and our senate, he would have been perfectly within the limits of historic veracity. Several secretaries were well convinced of his utility, and yet, were so ungenerous, when they spoke with more than usual approbation in the House, to attribute their success to their rhetoric, not to their incomparable culinary friend. Such cruel oblivion was altogether unjustifiable, and the secretary should have been addressed in the words of Martial:

" Quod tam Grande Sophos, clamat tibi turba togata,
" Non tu, Pomponi; cæna diserta tua est."

* It is rather remarkable, that his relation, the Duc d'Harcourt, should fill exactly the same office in the court of Lewis 16th. He was governor to that unfortunate prince's son, the Dauphin.

Which may perhaps be translated, or rather imitated thus:

"'Though from the benches, 'hear-hims' loud ascend,
"Your Cook, not you, is eloquent, my friend."

No man understood and managed the passions and propensities of the political world better than Blacquiere did. His success was correspondent. Mr. Knox, a contemporary placeman, with whom he held an official correspondence, bears this testimony to him, that he was the first secretary who ever thought of the interests of Ireland. The First! admitting the fact, what a picture does it hold forth of the manner in which Ireland was governed? The Lord Lieutenant's secretary was at that time, though, of course, in entire subserviency to the English cabinet, always regarded as the minister for Ireland. After a lapse of several centuries, we are informed, by a gentleman sufficiently conversant in Irish affairs, that Sir John Blacquiere was the first minister who ever thought of them! From whom did the English ministry obtain any knowledge of Ireland? How were its interests to be managed? or who was to regard them, if a person in such a situation did not? The Lord Lieutenant, a six months' visitor of this country, seldom paid much attention to them. Such a viceroy as Lord Chesterfield is not often to be found. But that Irish secretaries were, in general, perfectly indifferent to Irish interests, is unquestionably true. And it is as certain, that the supineness, and inattention of English ministers to this country may be regarded as some of the leading causes for its comparative poverty and imbecility. But more of this hereafter.—The recal of Lord Townshend was grateful to some gentlemen, who indulged the hope, that his successor's administration might proceed on more constitutional principles. They did not therefore join Lord Harcourt, but were prepared to give him such support as, in their opinion, he might be justly entitled to. Too many, however, laid hold on Lord Townshend's departure, not as an apology for, but an entire justification of their abandonment of the party, which they hitherto had adhered to. In the true cant of political hypocrisy, and tergiversation, they said, "It is highly indecorous that every Lord Lieutenant should be indiscriminately opposed. We could not conscientiously join Lord Townshend, but we may certainly support Lord Harcourt." This was abstractedly fair, had they upheld Earl Harcourt's government upon principles of candour and disinterestedness. But how did they

support it? As all such apostates have ever supported any Viceroy. Besieging his doors, besieging those of the secretary night and day, soliciting every employment, courting every service; at the castle, unresisting sycophants; in the House of Commons, adventurous braggadochios, hourly insulting the public, whom they robbed, and, by their rapacity, hourly weakening that royal authority which, with an audacious temerity, they affected exclusively to maintain. It is deeply to be deplored that any secretary should be obliged to enlist such mercenaries; and, had this administration aspired to any loftiness of station, or to measures of great and permanent utility, it might have laughed their mendicancy to scorn. But it was soon discovered, that it was a government of patronage, of multiplied arrangements. Such a government will be always weak, though, to superficial observers, it appears exactly the contrary. But having no public measures to rest on, no confidence of the people to resort to, it will be always upheld by the servile and the venal; their solicitations are necessarily complied with; their numbers pass for strength, and their misdeeds for spirit. But all is hollow.—That Lord Harcourt, or Lord de Blacquiere were inimical to Ireland, or indifferent to its interests, cannot be at all supposed. Had they been permitted, perhaps, to assert a higher tone, had they been sedulously attended to, and wisely supported by the English cabinet, it is not at all impossible, that their adininistration would have assumed a different aspect. But the most exalted plans for the relief of this country, if such had ever issued from their councils, would, at that day, have been frowned on; indeed, experienced more austerity of reception, on account of their *excellence*, than the most vulgar, temporizing policy.

There was, according to the ideas of the ministers at that time, safety in the *latter*, and embarrassment in the *former*. *That* was sufficient.—Such a benumbing policy in the superior, was enough to paralize all exertion in the inferior cabinet; and, had any thing before been wanting, completely to provincialize its government, the noblest qualities would, by the operation of such a system, sink into the lowest, and every evil of a Proconsular management be naturally resorted to, where every thing dignified was proscribed. The ministry of Lord Harcourt was therefore a ministry of sinister influence; that of his successor, Lord Buckinghamshire, promulgated imbecility. Ireland was brought to a precipice, from which it was snatched by the bold hands of its own sons, and

the mild wisdom of its rulers.—Some deviation, however, was at first made by Lord Harcourt, from the politics of his predecessor. One or two obnoxious acts were repealed, the board of excise put down; but an account of these measures, of the Tontine scheme, of the stamp duties, then first resorted to, the state of the national debt; at that time, £994,890, of the pension list £172,494, form part of the general parliamentary history of Ireland. They are only mentioned here, as giving so far the financial state of the kingdom at the close of 1773. Government wished to do something in favour of the Catholics. But scarcely was the door opened for their relief, than it was instantly closed again. One bill, enabling them to lend money to Protestants on mortgages of lands, and another to permit them to take leases for lives of lands, &c. were suddenly dropt. For this, Lord Harcourt's government was not to be blamed. He, as well as his secretary, were favourable to the Catholics, and the names of the gentlemen who were ordered to bring in the bills, Sir Hercules Langrishe, and Mr. Monck Mason, prove, that this administration was friendly to such measures. The times, however, were against them.—How far Lord Charlemont might have been personally connected with Lord Harcourt, I know not. With his manners he must have been pleased, but from his administration he kept almost totally aloof. About this, or rather some time before that nobleman arrived in Ireland, Lord Charlemont began to build his elegant house in Rutland Square, Dublin; which, as long as it remains, must be admired by every one, who can relish whatever is most correct, simple, and chaste in architecture. His taste in that useful and agreeable science particularly, as well as the fine arts in general, has been acknowledged by all, who are most qualified to decide on such subjects. But it must endear his memory to those who have spirit, and sense enough to respect genuine, unequivocal patriotism; that he indulged his love of architecture, not solely from the elegant gratification which it affords, but from the nobler sense of his duty, as a citizen, who was bound to cultivate the interests of his native land. The beautiful ornamented residence at Marino, its Temple, so truly attic, so much the object of general admiration, rose in obedience to those finer feelings, which were awakened, even to enthusiasm, not more by a contemplation of the edifices of Pericles, than reflection on the Athenian mind; nor is it any enforced language to say, that Marino was the child of patriot, civil wisdom, as well as the graces. It has been noticed already, that

the number even of his acquaintance in Ireland was, on his return from abroad, very limited, for as to his friendships, they were, with two or three exceptions, solely confined to England. We cannot, therefore, sufficiently honour a nobleman, who in such a situation, and with such attractions to fix him in another country, had resolution enough, at a very early period of life, from a strict sense of duty, to adhere to his own. But he can explain the just motives which actuated him better than I can; and his opinion, as to the residence of the higher ranks in Ireland, necessary at all times, and peculiarly so at that moment, may have its utility. Some of his reasons, from the consolidation of the legislatures of both kingdoms, now cease to operate; but altogether, they deserve insertion here, as they form a degree of alliance with the subjects of the absentee tax, a measure proposed during Lord Harcourt's administration, which I shall touch on in its proper place. "As I had left Ireland, when almost a child, I had few, or no acquaintance there.—At least, none of that class which, holding a place between friendship and acquaintance, are in a high degree interesting to the heart. All my connexions had been formed among Englishmen, the attractive force of which circumstance I quickly perceived, and being thoroughly sensible, that it was my indispensable duty to live in Ireland, determined, by some means or other, to attach myself to my native country; and, principally with this view, I began those improvements at Marino, which have proved so expensive to me. My health, to which sea-bathing, and the social neighbourhood of a metropolis, were absolutely necessary, would not allow me to settle on my estate in the north, and, without some pleasant, and attractive employment, I doubted, whether I should have resolution enough to become a resident, and residence is the first of our political duties, since, without it, all others are impracticable.

"It is the nature of man to assimilate himself to those with whom he lives, or, at least, to endeavour such assimilation, especially where his adopted countrymen, exalted in his own private opinion above himself, affect to deride his native manners and partialities. The Irishman in London, long before he has lost his brogue, loses, or casts away, all Irish ideas; and, from a natural wish to obtain the good will of those with whom he associates, becomes, in effect, a partial Englishman.—Perhaps more partial than the English themselves.—In the east, it is well known that Christians meet no enemies so bitter, or so dangerous,

as renegadoes. Let us love our fellow subjects, as our brethren—let us at all times act in concert, for the universal good of the empire; but let us consider, that we are best enabled to perform that duty, by contributing to the prosperity of our own country, which forms so capital a portion of that empire. What can the unconnected Irishman perform in England? Whatever his consequence may be at home, it is lost in the vast circle of English importance. The resident Irishman may be of consequence even in England. The English Irishman never can. He gets into Parliament, and by so doing, takes upon himself a new duty, independent of, and perhaps contrary to that to which he was born,—the service of his constituents.—He may enrich himself as a courtier, or gain applause as a patriot; he may serve his party, he may serve himself; but Ireland must be served in Ireland. The love and service of our country is, perhaps, the widest circle in which we can hope to display an active benevolence. Universal philanthropy is, no doubt, a god-like virtue; but how few are there who can hope, or aspire to serve mankind? Although our fervent wish ought always to extend to the service of mankind, our endeavours ought to be more particularly pointed to the practice of that most extended duty, patriotism, to which they are adequate. If every man were to devote his powers to the service of his country, mankind would be universally served."

As the Irish parliament was not convened by Lord Harcourt till October, 1773, Lord Charlemont spent the beginning, and spring of this year in London. Much of his time was devoted to his literary friends, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Drs. Johnson, Goldsmith, and Mr. Beauclerk, With the gentleman last mentioned he had formed a particular intimacy; and on his return to Ireland, Mr. Beauclerk corresponded with him very frequently. I shall take leave to give some part of his letters to Lord Charlemont; they are not many, but they are sufficient to shew the warmth of Beauclerk's attachment to him, and give a favourable portraiture of that accomplished man's disposition, and agreeable talents. If they did not, they should find no place here; for on what principle a writer can think himself justified in ransacking the closets of the dead, and dragging to light every idle, though venial foible, without the slightest respect to the feelings of friends, of relations, or even female delicacy, I have yet to learn.

Muswell Hill, July 5th, 1773.

My Dear Lord,

It is certainly ordained by fate, that I should always appear in a state of humiliation before you; nothing else could have prevented me from writing to you, and endeavouring thereby to keep up an intercourse with one for whom I shall always retain the greatest, and tenderest regard; lessening in some measure the greatest of all human evils, the separation from those we love; but that insuperable idleness, which accompanies me through life, which not only prevents me from doing what I ought, but likewise from enjoying my greatest pleasure, where any thing is to be done, has hitherto prevented me from writing; but if I obtain your pardon this time, I will, for the future, mend my manners, and try, by one act at least, to be worthy of that friendship which you have honoured me with. I need not assure you, that I most ardently wish to visit you this summer in Ireland; nothing but Lady Di.'s illness shall prevent me. I have been but once at the club since you left England; we were entertained, as usual, by Dr. Goldsmith's absurdity. Mr. V.* can give you an account of it. Sir Joshua Reynolds intends painting your picture over again, so you may set your heart at rest for some time; it is true, it will last so much the longer, but then you may wait these ten years for it. Elmsly gave me a commission from you about Mr. Walpole's frames for prints, which is perfectly unintelligible: I wish you would explain it, and it shall be punctually executed. The Duke of Northumberland has promised me a pair of his new pheasants for you, but you must wait till all the crowned heads in Europe have been served first.—I have been at the review at Portsmouth. If you had seen it, you would have owned, that it is a very pleasant thing to be a King. It is true, ——— made a job of the claret to ———, who furnished the first tables with vinegar, under that denomination. Charles Fox said, that Lord S —wich should have been impeached; what an abominable world do we live in, that there should not be above half a dozen honest men *in* the world, and that one of those should live in Ireland. You will, perhaps, be shocked at the small portion of honesty that I allot to your country; but a sixth part is as much as comes to its share; and, for any thing I know to the contrary, the other five may be in Ireland too, for I am

* Mr. Agmondisham Vesey, of Lucan, near Dublin.

sure I do not know where else to find them. Your philanthropy engages you to think well of the greatest part of mankind; but every year, every hour, adds to my misanthropy, and I have had a pretty considerable share of it, for some years past. Leave your parliament, and your nation to shift for itself, and consecrate that time to your friends, which you spend in endeavouring to promote the interest of half a million of scoundrels. Since, as Pope says,

"Life can little else supply,
Than just to look about us, and to die."

Do not let us lose that moment that we have, but let us enjoy all that can be enjoyed in this world; the pleasures of a true uninterrupted friendship.—Let us leave this island of fog and iniquity, and sail to purer regions, not yet quite corrupted by European manners. It is true, you must leave behind you Marino, and your medals, but you will likewise leave behind you the S—s, and R—bys of this place. I know you will say you can do all this without flying to the other pole, by shunning the society of such wretches; but what avails it to me, that you are the very man I could wish, when I am separated from you by sea and land? If you will quit Marino, and sail with me, I will fly from Almack's, though, whatever evil I may have suffered from my connection with that place, I shall always with gratitude remember, that there I first began my acquaintance with you; and in the very sincerity of truth I can say, that I would rather have such a friend as you, even at three hundred miles distance, than both the Houses of Parliament for my friends in London.—I find when I have once begun to converse with you, I cannot leave off;—you have spoiled me, my Lord, and must take the consequence. Why should fortune have placed our paltry concerns in two different islands? if we could keep them, they are not worth one hour's conversation at Elmsly's.* If life is good for any thing, it is only made so by the society of those whom we love. At all events, I will try to come to Ireland, and shall take no excuse from you, for not coming early in the winter to London. The club exists but by your presence; the flourishing of learned men is the glory of the state. Mr. Vesey will tell you, that our club consists of the greatest men in the world, consequently you see there is a good, and patriotic reason for you to return to England in the winter.—Pray make my best

* Elmsly, the bookseller.

respects to Lady Charlemont, and Miss Hickman,* and tell them I wish they were at this moment sitting at the door of our ale-house in Gerard-street.†

Believe me to be, my dear Lord,
With the utmost sincerity,
Affectionately your's,
T. Beauclerk.

Lord Charlemont, however, did not obey the kind summons of his friend, but continued his attendance on parliament, where, in the House of Commons at least, some business of importance was transacted. Early this session a motion was made there by Mr. Flood, "that a tax of two shillings in the pound, should be laid on the net rents, and annual profits, of all landed property in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not actually reside in the kingdom, for the space of six months in each year, from Christmas, 1773, to Christmas, 1774."—This measure, for a long time past, very generally favoured by the people of Ireland, was particularly supported by Flood in the House, and out of doors by Lord Charlemont; who, however, was by no means so zealous in the sequel for its adoption, as he had been at first on a slighter regard of the subject. Nothing certainly appears more plausible, more reasonable. That a country should transmit every year the best, or a very considerable part of its rental, to be spent in another kingdom, without deriving any aid whatever to its establishment, or its most pressing exigencies, from those to whom such rent is transmitted, is apparently that species of political proposition, which common sense, and common justice revolt at. Yet, such are the relative situations of the two kingdoms, that to remedy an evil of this nature, is a matter of extreme delicacy and difficulty;—the tax proposed would, in some instances, be no compensation for the grievance sustained, and in others, would be manifest injustice.

That, in free countries like these, a person should not be at liberty to chuse his place of residence, or pay a severe fine for remaining in one kingdom

* Sister to Lady Charlemont; a most amiable and respectable lady. She died a few years ago, regretted by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance.

† Gerard-street, the Turk's Head Tavern, in that street, where the literary club then held their meetings.

more than another, militates strongly against that general liberty, which both islands so super-eminently enjoy; yet, on the other hand, if a frivolous, or unjust, and unfeeling man, contemning the place of his birth, and, without any reasons but such as he would almost blush to avow, turns his back on his native soil, indifferent alike to its prosperity and its distresses, contributing nothing to the former, alleviating nothing of the latter, it appears by no means unreasonable, that a mulct, or penalty, should in some measure effectuate that, which no regard to the duties of a good citizen would ever prompt him to do, and that the freedom, which the purses, and the persons of his countrymen enable him to enjoy, should not be used to their detriment, or discomfiture. Even a person, whose birth is English, and the major part of whose possessions are equally so, should not complain of too much harshness, if, enjoying an estate in Ireland, and sordidly and sullenly denying the slightest contribution to its government, the legislature regards him as an object of taxation. But to those, whose public duty requires, perhaps, a constant residence in England, or, without being so called on, are by birth, by habit, by division of property, attached to England, yet, on every occasion, aiding Ireland, (though not the place of their abode,) by their counsels in the senate, by their pecuniary contributions to the public exigencies, or their own immediate tenantry; to such persons an absentee tax would justly appear in a light as invidious as impolitic. Few measures could, with more certainty, tend to alienate the affections and regards of men, capable, and willing to serve Ireland, than a compulsory residence in Ireland; and the spontaneous gifts of a wise policy, or uniform benignity, would be ill exchanged in that case, for a reluctant, sullen acquiescence in a tax, which would make the doors of the treasury, the only doors in the kingdom, familiar to its contributors.—Such reasons as these might partly have co-operated in its rejection by the House of Commons, where, I have been informed, it was extremely well debated.

But the great argument which swayed the House was, that the adoption of such a measure would infallibly lead to a land-tax; and, if the powerful interest of the principal absentees had, till now, secured Ireland from such a tax, the same interest would then be exerted to introduce it in this kingdom. Being fined as absentees, and, in truth, paying a land-tax, they would take care, either that their peculiar mulct should be repealed, or, that the rest of the

inheritors of landed property, should, as such, pay a tax as well as themselves. The reader will please to remember, that this measure was agitated several years before the acknowledgment of the independency of Ireland by the British legislature; and if, during such an inauspicious period, it was thought prudent not to weaken the slight ties of affection by which we were then regarded in England, but, on the contrary, to cultivate every powerful interest whatever, a measure like an absentee tax, after our being restored to, and enjoying a participation of commercial and constitutional rights with England, would be inimical to every idea of sound conciliating policy. The union has now, indeed, if any thing else were wanting, rendered all such financial schemes totally impracticable. But to put a particular tax for ever aside, and promote a cordial intercourse between the two countries, are very distinct legislative duties. To diminish the number of absentees, or induce great landed proprietors to frequent visits to their estates, a more improved state of things in Ireland, concurring with more expanded ideas of such proprietors, is even yet wanting. A long, very long peace indeed, will effect, more than any thing else can, in this kingdom, the extinction of religious prejudices alone excepted. As Cicero says, of some busy, tormenting politician, in his time, (I forget his name); "he always lived in the hopes of some innovation, and the tranquillity of the republic immediately made him an old man;"* so I venture to prophecy, that the peace of our commonwealth, will be the premature age, the hopeless decrepitude of many an untamed spirit in Ireland.† A lengthened peace will gradually turn the eyes of those whom they have misled, and perhaps are still misleading, from France to their own country, to England, to English connexion, and English constitution. But in this change of regards, England must cordially co-operate. No rudeness of party writers, no impertinence, no insult, no intemperance. Let the two nations love each other, as their neighbours, as themselves. The arts of peace, of industry, will follow in the train of European tranquillity, and domestic amity. A liberal intercourse between our gentry on each side of the water, will be multiplied tenfold, the face of the agent will not alone be known to an Irish tenantry; their landlords will be, at least, equally so, and the absentee tax will

* In otio Reipublicæ Consenescebat.

† This was written early in 1804.

only stand among the occasional reminiscences of other, and more inauspicious, because more ignorant times.—But this subject has led me beyond my proper limits, and the reader will justly upbraid me that, in treating it as I have done, part of my narrative is misplaced. In the history of the absentee tax, it should have been mentioned, that the government of this country apparently favoured its introduction.

Lord Harcourt, and his co-adjutors, very possibly thought, that it was a fair, and salutary tax, to propose to the Irish parliament. Be that as it may, the proposal gave them, what they much wanted, a great deal of popularity, and also held out to them the prospect of obtaining, what they equally stood in need of, a very lucrative tax. In point of finance they were nearly at their wit's end. The national expenditure far exceeded the annual revenue, and under the direct promise of government, that more economy should pervade every department, taxes were resorted to, new and burthensome, in order to place revenue and expenditure on the same footing, and thereby stop any further accumulation of debt. The revenue, however, was soon raised, and the promise was as soon forgotten. In this forlorn state, government grasped at the scheme of taxing the absentees, as one which was not only to raise them from despair, but cover them with laurels. The people were taught to believe, that this proposed tax would be a great concession to them, and a great relief, though no preceding tax was to be given up, nor a single department to undergo any reform. It has been said, that this particular mode of taxation was also resorted to, because the leading objects of it were hostile to administration; and, indeed, their most formidable opponents. Some ministers are undoubtedly as mean, and can act from as grovelling motives, as the basest of our species. But that kind of vulgar, ungentlemanlike rancour, was, I am persuaded, not then to be found in the cabinet.

The minister, Lord North, was not only incapable of such pitiful hostility, but, when the battle raged most among parties, was a liberal and generous opponent. When he answered some of the absentee lords,* who addressed him

* The Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Rockingham, Earl of Besborough, Earl of Upper Ossory, Lord Milton, &c. They have been much abused for their letter to Lord North. Upon very untenable grounds in my opinion.

on the subject of the tax, he stated, "That the Lord Lieutenant had sent over several propositions for restoring the credit, and putting the finances of Ireland on a proper footing: that, among other modes of supply, he informed his Majesty's servants in England, that a tax on absentees might possibly constitute one of them. The answer of the cabinet was, that whatever plan appeared most likely to give relief to Ireland, should be adopted, though it included a tax on absentees."—Lord Harcourt certainly did not act with the whig leaders at this time, yet he was personally attached to many of them, and was defended in the House of Commons, by Lord John Cavendish. Altogether, the idea of government pointing a tax against them, on account of their political conduct, may be justly abandoned. Besides, it should be recollected, that although the noblemen above alluded to, were, or rather some of them, the principal land proprietors in Ireland, and of course, most to be affected by the tax, there were others who possessed great estates in this country, who generally, if not always, voted with the minister.

If, therefore, as has been repeatedly suggested, the influence of the whig leaders, though in opposition, predominated so far in this instance, as to oblige ministers to relinquish the measure, and give orders to Lord Harcourt, when the question was almost brought to a decision, suddenly to withdraw his support, it is fair also to join the influence of the ministerial lords, who were personally concerned, as well as their general opponents, and could not have been inert, or unattended to by the premier. But, whatever weight both parties had, either separately, or in conjunction, I have good reasons to believe, that the House of Commons was chiefly swayed in its decision by the dread of a land-tax succeeding that on absentees, and that several were governed, not by that consideration merely, but by what appeared to them, the impolicy, and illiberality of the measure. On the division as to this question, numbers were peculiarly balanced; the ayes being 102; and the noes, or those against the tax, 122. In the preceding business, Lord Charlemont, at first, took a very active part. His earlier opinions were, as already stated, strongly in its favour; but on a more accurate, and comprehensive view of the subject, he rather, or indeed almost entirely abandoned them. The following short portion of parliamentary history is, in truth, no farther connected with his, than that it increased his

respect for Mr. Pery,* and added to the fervour with which, at this time, he engaged in every rational scheme, and embraced every wise suggestion, that tended to meliorate the condition of his country. I have already endeavoured, however imperfectly, to do some justice to the character of Lord Pery. The following speech, if justly considered, does more honour to his memory, than any thing I could say, and presents the most faithful, however melancholy picture, of the state of Ireland at this time. It was made by him, when Speaker, at the bar of the House of Lords, December, 1773, and forms a proper sequel to the history of the absentee tax. All the subsequent proceedings in favour of the extended commerce of Ireland, were founded on this representation.

"The Commons have exerted their utmost efforts to answer your Excellency's expectation, not only in providing for the discharge of an arrear of £265,000; but also in making an addition to the revenue of near £100,000 a year. Difficult as this task appeared in a kingdom so destitute of resources as this is, yet it was undertaken with cheerfulness, and prosecuted with vigour; but if the means which they have employed shall prove inadequate to the liberality of their intentions, it must be imputed to the inability of the kingdom, not to any disinclination, or unwillingness in them to make ample provision for his Majesty's service, to which they have sacrificed their most favourite objects. The moderation and temper, with which all their proceedings have been conducted during the course of this session, afford the clearest proof, not only of their gratitude for his Majesty's attention, and condescension to their wishes, but also of the just sense they entertain of your excellency's intercession in their favour; and they have the fullest confidence, that the same humane and benevolent disposition, will induce your Excellency to represent to his Majesty, in the strongest light, not only their duty, and affection to him, but also the state, and circumstances of this kingdom; from which they conceive the most sanguine hopes, that those restrictions, which the narrow, and short-sighted policy of former times, equally injurious to Great Britain, and to us, imposed on the manufactures and commerce of this kingdom, will be remitted. If Great Britain reaped the fruits of this policy, the Commons of Ire-

* Lord Pery afterwards.

land would behold it without repining, but it aggravates the sense of their misfortunes to see the rivals, if not the enemies of Great Britain, in the undisturbed possession of those advantages, to which they think themselves entitled upon every principle of policy and justice. It is the expectation of being restored to some, if not to all of those rights, and that alone, which can justify to the people the conduct of their representatives, in laying so many additional burthens upon them, in the course of this session; and no time can be more favourable to their wishes, than the present, when the public councils are directed by a minister, who has judgment to discern, and courage to pursue the common interest of the empire, and when the throne is filled by a monarch, the sole object of whose ambition is to render all his people happy."*

As these memoirs contain the history of Lord Charlemont's life, not the history of Ireland, it may be necessary, and that not unfrequently, to vary the narrative, more perhaps than a strict unity of design will justly permit. Without such transitions the object of the work would be defeated, and Lord Charlemont would be seen in little more than one point of view, which, however favourable, could not fail of wearying almost every reader. "From grave to gay" therefore; from Lord Pery's speech, full of public care, to Beauclerk's correspondence which breathed no care at all, as to politics, and even affected more indifference on such subjects than he always felt, (for he was a man of too much genius, too much independence of mind, to be totally regardless of legislative affairs;) to his correspondence I shall now return.

Adelphi, Nov. 20, 1773.

My Dear Lord,

I delayed writing to you, as I had flattered myself that I should have been able to have paid you a visit at Dublin before this time, but I have been prevented, not by my own negligence, and indolence, but by various matters.—I am rejoiced to find by your letter that Lady C. is as you wish. I have yet remaining so much benevolence towards mankind, as to wish, that there may be a son of your's, educated by you, as a specimen of what mankind ought to be.—Goldsmith the other day put a paragraph into the

* A short note among Lord Charlemont's papers has these words, "In Lord Harcourt's time the liberty of trade was begun by a speech of the Speaker's."

newspapers, in praise of Lord Mayor Townshend. The same night we happened to sit next to Lord Shelburne, at Drury Lane; I mentioned the circumstance of the paragraph to him; he said to Goldsmith, that he hoped that he had mentioned nothing about Malagrida in it. "Do you know," answered Goldsmith, "that I never could conceive the reason why they call you Malagrida, *for* Malagrida was a very good sort of man."* You see plainly, what he meant to say, but that happy turn of expression is peculiar to himself. Mr. Walpole says, that this story is a picture of Goldsmith's whole life.—Johnson has been confined for some weeks in the Isle of Sky; we hear that he was obliged to swim over to the main land, taking hold of a cow's tail. Be that as it may, Lady Di.† has promised to make a drawing of it. Our poor club is in a miserable decay; unless you come, and relieve it, it will certainly expire. Would you imagine, that Sir Joshua Reynolds is extremely anxious to be a member of Almack's? You see what noble ambition will make a man attempt. That den is not yet opened, consequently I have not been there; so, for the present I am clear upon that score. I suppose your confounded Irish politics take up your whole attention at present. If they could but have obtained the absentee tax, the Irish parliament would have been perfect. They would have voted themselves out of parliament, and lessened their estates one half of the value. This is patriotism with a vengeance.—I have heard nothing of your peacock's eggs. The Duke of N——d tells me, that if they are put into tallow, or butter, they will never hatch. I mention this to you, as worthy of your notice. Mr. Walpole promised me to send you a drawing of his frames, but he has been so much engaged with Lord Orford's affairs, that he has probably forgot it. There is nothing new at present in the literary world. Mr. Jones,‡ of our club, is going to publish an account, in Latin, of the eastern poetry, with extracts translated verbatim in verse. I will order Elmsly to send it to you, when it comes out; I fancy it will be a very pretty book. Goldsmith has written a pro-

* It is almost superfluous to remark, that this is the anecdote so often mentioned of Goldsmith.

† Lady Diana Beauclerk, wife to Mr. Beauclerk, and daughter to Charles, late Duke of Marlborough; eminent for her exquisite taste, and skill in painting. Lord Charlemont has often mentioned to me, that Sir Joshua Reynolds frequently declared to him, that many of her ladyship's drawings might be studied as models.

‡ Sir William Jones.

logue for Mrs. Yates, which she spoke this evening before the Opera. It is very good. You will see it soon in all the newspapers, otherwise I would send it to you. I hope to hear in your next letter, that you have fixed your time for returning to England. We cannot do without you. If you do not come here, I will bring all the club over to Ireland, to live with you, and that will drive you here in your own defence. Johnson shall spoil your books, Goldsmith pull your flowers, and Boswell talk to you; stay then if you can. Adieu, my dear Lord. Pray make my best compliments to Lady Charlemont.

Believe me to be, very sincerely,

And affectionately your's,

T. Beauclerk.

My Dear Lord,

Enclosed I send you the drawing of Mr. Walpole's frames; which I did not receive till last night. I hope you received a letter from me some time ago; I mention this, that I may not appear worse than I am, and likewise to hint to you, that, when you receive this, you will be two letters in my debt. I hope your parliament has finished all its absurdities, and that you will be at leisure to come over here to attend your club, where you will do much more good than all the patriots in the world ever did to any body, viz. you will make very many of your friends extremely happy; and you know Goldsmith has informed us, that no form of government ever contributed either to the happiness or misery of any one.—I saw a letter from Foote, with an account of an Irish tragedy; the subject is Manlius, and the last speech which he makes when he is pushed off from the Tarpeian Rock, is, "Sweet Jesus, where am I going?" Pray send me word if this is true. We have a new comedy here, which is good for nothing; bad as it is, however, it succeeds very well, and has almost killed Goldsmith with envy. I have no news, either literary or political to send you. Every body, except myself, and about a million of vulgars, are in the country. I am closely confined, as Lady Di. expects to be so every hour.

I am, my dear Lord,

Very sincerely and affectionately your's,

T. Beauclerk.

Adelphi, December 24th, 1773.

My Dear Lord,

I have this moment received your letter, and I need not tell you how happy it has made me, by informing me that Lady Charlemont is well, and yourself so much better. I can now give you a better reason for not writing sooner to you, than for any other thing that I ever did in my life. When Sir Charles Bingham,* came from Ireland, I, as you may easily imagine, immediately enquired after you; he told me, that you were very well, but in great affliction, having just lost your child. You cannot conceive how I was shocked with this news; not only by considering what you suffered on this occasion, but recollected that a foolish letter of mine, laughing at your Irish politics, would arrive just at that point of time. A bad joke at any time is a bad thing; but when any attempt at pleasantry happens, at a moment that a person is in great affliction, it certainly is the most odious thing in the world. I could not write to you to comfort you; you will not wonder, therefore, that I did not write at all. I must now intreat you to lay aside your politics for some time, and to consider, that the taking care of your health is one of the most public-spirited things that you can possibly do; for, notwithstanding your vapour about Ireland, I do not believe that you can very well spare one honest man.—Our politicians, on this side of the water, are all asleep; but I hear they are to be awakened next Monday, by a printer, who is ordered to attend the bar of the House, for having abused Sir Fletcher Norton. They have already passed a vote, that Sir Fletcher's character is immaculate, and will most certainly punish the printer very severely, if a trifling circumstance does not prevent them, viz. that the printer should, as he most probably will, refuse to attend.—Our club has dwindled away to nothing. Nobody attends but Mr. Chambers, and he is going to the East Indies. Sir Joshua and Goldsmith have got into such a round of pleasures, that they have no time.—In my next I will send you a long history of all our friends, and particularly an account how twelve thousand pounds may be paid without advancing one single shilling. This is certainly very convenient, and if you can get rid of all your feeling and morality before my next letter arrives, you may put it in practice, as probably it has not yet been introduced into Ireland.

Believe me to be, my dear Lord,

T. Beauclerk.

Adelphi, Feb. 12th, 1774.

* The late Lord Lucan. He was a member of the Literary club.

My Dear Lord,

That it was my full intention to visit you in Ireland, and that it still remains so, is as true, as that I love and esteem you more than any man upon this earth; but various accidents have hitherto hindered me, the last of which has been a violent illness, which obliges me to a constant attendance on Doctor Turton; but, in spite of him, or nature itself, I will very soon pay you a visit. Business, it is true, I have none to keep me here; but you forget that I have business in Lancashire, and that I must go there, when I come to you. Now you will please to recollect, that there is nothing in this world I so entirely hate as business of any kind, and that I pay you the greatest compliment I can do, when I risque the meeting with my own confounded affairs, in order to have the pleasure of seeing you; but this I am resolved to do.—The D —— is quite a new acquaintance; he says, he is a scholar, and I believed him to be so. He seemed a good-natured man, and a man of parts, and one proof I am sure he gave of his understanding, by expressing a strong desire to be acquainted with you. I had recollection enough, however, not to give him a letter to you, as I suspect that a certain thing, called politics, might be the cause of a difference between you, particularly as he told me, that he was an intimate friend of Rigby's. And if the old proverb is true, *Noscitur à Socio*, I guessed that he was not a man after your own heart. Why should you be vexed to find that mankind are fools and knaves? I have known it so long, that every fresh instance of it amuses me, provided it does not immediately affect my friends or myself. Politicians do not seem to me to be much greater rogues than other people; and as their actions affect, in general, private persons less than other kinds of villany do, I cannot find that I am so angry with them. It is true that the leading men, in both countries, at present, are, I believe, the most corrupt, abandoned people in the nation;—but now that I am upon this worthy subject of human nature, I will inform you of a few particulars relating to the discovery of Otaheite, which Dr. Hawkesworth said, placed the King above all the Conquerors in the world; and if the glory is to be estimated by the mischief, I do not know whether he is not right. When Wallis first anchored off the island, two natives came along-side of the ship, without fear or distrust, to barter their goods with our people. A man, called

the boat-keeper, who was in a boat that was tied to the ship, attempted to get the things from them without payment. The savages resisted, and he struck one of them with the boat-hook, upon which they immediately paddled away. In the morning great numbers came in canoes of all sizes about the ship. They behaved, however, in the most peaceable manner, still offering to exchange their commodities for any thing that they could obtain from us. The same trick was played by attempting to take away their things by force. This enraged them, and they had come prepared to defend themselves with such weapons as they had; they immediately began to fling stones, one of which went into the cabin window. Wallis, on this, ordered that the guns, loaded with grape shot, should be fired; this, you may imagine, immediately dispersed them. Some were drowned, many killed, and some few got on shore, where numbers of the natives were assembled. Wallis then ordered the great guns to be played, according to his phrase, upon them. This drove them off; when he still ordered the same pastime to be continued, in order to convince them, as he says, that our arms could reach them at such a distance. If you add to this, that the inhabitants of all these islands are eat up with vile disorders, you will find, that men may be much worse employed, than by doing the dirtiest job that ever was undertaken by the lowest of our clerk-ministers. These particulars I had from a man who went the last voyage, and had them from the gunner of Wallis's ship. We have one of the natives here, who was wounded in that infernal massacre.—There is another curiosity here, Mr. Bruce. His drawings are the most beautiful things you ever saw, and his adventures more wonderful than those of Sinbad the sailor, and perhaps as true. I am much more afflicted with the account you send me of your health, than I am at the corruption of your ministers; I always hated politics, and I now hate them ten times worse, as I have reason to think, that they contribute towards your ill health. You do me great justice in thinking, that whatever concerns you must interest me, but as I wish you most sincerely to be perfectly happy, I cannot bear to think that the villanous proceedings of others should make you miserable; for, in that case, undoubtedly you will never be happy.—Charles Fox is a member at the Turk's Head, but not till he was a patriot, and you know, if one repents, &c.—There is nothing new, but Goldsmith's Retaliation, which you certainly have

seen.—Pray tell Lady Charlemont, from me, that I desire she may keep you from politics, as they do children from sweetmeats, that make them sick.

Believe me to be, &c.

T. Beauclerk.

Muswell Hill, Summer Quarters, July 18th, 1774.

But to disgust Lord Charlemont with politics was no very easy circumstance. It is true, they were too often a source of chagrin to him, and whoever pursues the real interests of his country, as he did, unmoved by the two great passions, ambition or avarice, which agitate so many political leaders, must encounter much disquietude and mortification. An event took place at the close of this session, which, however he might for some time have been prepared for, he was still in hopes might ultimately be averted. Mr. Flood accepted one of the Vice-treasurership's of Ireland. He had hitherto joined Lord Charlemont in almost every political measure, lived in great intimacy with, and was consulted by his Lordship on every occasion, in which the public was at all concerned. He was, at this time, at the head of opposition, and regarded by administration as their most formidable antagonist. But it was observed in the course of the session, that his attendance at the House was less frequent, his speeches less animated, and gradually in short, his opposition became more desultory, languid, and uncertain. Symptoms like these, at first, alarmed his friends, and soon after the public, who ascribed this visible change to occasional ill humour and increased ill health. Undoubtedly he had too much reason to be out of humour with some of his associates.

Several of them, after many feeble and invalid apologies to him, joined government, and others, without any apology at all. Neither the number of such men, their talents, knowledge, nor parliamentary importance, were in any way conspicuous. But they filled the muster-roll of the Secretary; "Ibimus, Ibimus ut cunque præcedes," might have been their motto; for they walked after the Secretary across the House, or into the lobby, with as undaunted steps as if each of them had been a Cincinnatus, and going home to dress a supper of herbs; regardless of that of the Secretary, and all the good Margoux that was so lamentably wasted upon them. Flood observed, that his ranks were thinned, and seeing the defection of others, who were better auxiliaries to him, in debate

at least, than the above-mentioned personages, he began to consider himself as deserted. The public however, many independent gentlemen, and Lord Charlemont still remained. Interview succeeded interview between him and his noble friend. Then an epistolary correspondence; then a few, but candid expostulatory anonymous letters in the public prints, in which Lord Charlemont bore a share. But the Vice-treasurership was accepted.—It has been said, pretty frequently too, that Flood's object in accepting a lucrative situation, was the large addition to his income, exhausted as his estate then was, by parliamentary and election contests of various kinds. The motives of men are generally of a mixed kind, and if that was his object, of which I know nothing, and therefore am not entitled to touch on it further, I am certain that it was not his sole object. I had not the honour of being very well known to him; but he was always civil, and even kind to me. In the spring and early part of the summer of 1786, I had often the pleasure of meeting him in London, in company with an excellent friend, now no more. It appeared to me, that he had a great desire to serve the public, by the adoption of some beneficial measure, during Lord Harcourt's administration. That he thought, (however erroneously,) he might be of far more service to Ireland, by accepting a high situation, circumstanced as parties then were (1774), than by remaining with opposition. The Vice-treasurership had hitherto been given only to men eminent in Parliament, or, of great connexions, and almost invariably, to absentees. Some rays of vanity, of patriot ambition, might have played on his mind, when he contemplated such a place as bestowed on *him*, and by his acceptance, rendered more approachable to Irish gentlemen, and parliamentary exertions in Ireland. Some of his political rivals, Mr. Hutchinson particularly, seemed at that time to have seceded from their former station, as statesmen, and counsellors to the Viceroy. Power, indeed, they still liked, and adhered to; but they did not advance so forward in public life as heretofore. At such a period Flood indulged himself with the prospect of an almost entire ascendancy in the cabinet of Ireland. He flattered himself that his talents could easily sway a very amiable, very well bred, but incurious old nobleman, and an active, adroit colonel of dragoons. In short, like the Roman Lyric Poet on another occasion, he menaced many and charming things; and, like him too, he lived amid such menaces, and his new occupations, nor rightly, according to the ideas of others, nor agreeably to

himself. He soon discovered that the Vice-treasurership was given to him, not to call forth any novel ambition, but, as far as it could effect it, to extinguish even the embers of the old. The castle of Dublin was to be to him the castle of indolence; and, like other Irishmen of eminence in those days, however he might endeavour to win his way to power and emolument, by public activity, he could only obtain both, by public repose. Lord Charlemont's advice to him, therefore, was the result of sagacity and long experience. Before I close this subject, I may just mention, that at the time alluded to, when Mr. Flood was in London, he more than once declared to Mr. Forbes,* "That he had been betrayed oftener, when taking an active part in the House of Commons of Ireland, than he thought it necessary to state. "Except some particular persons," continued he, "men, indeed, of the most scrupulous and delicate honour, every one whom I entrusted a parliamentary motion to, or plan of conduct for the session, almost uniformly betrayed me." A melancholy portrait this, if strictly consonant to the fact, of political turpitude.—Whilst lamenting this defection of Flood, it was the will of Providence, that Lord Charlemont should sustain a most severe domestic calamity. His brother, Francis Caulfield, an amiable man, representative of the borough of Charlemont, was, on his return from England, to attend his duty in Parliament, lost between Park-gate and Dublin. But so little do we know to-day, what the morrow may produce, that this shipwreck, which for some time covered Lord Charlemont's house with mourning, was, at no distant period, the source of much gratification to his feelings as a statesman. By the vacancy which Mr. Caulfield's death occasioned in Parliament, the Electors of Charlemont were enabled, under the auspices of his Lordship, to return a man to the House of Commons, who was destined to act a more conspicuous part than any one who had ever been deputed to serve there. This was Henry Grattan,† a name which will last as long as Ireland has a name among nations. Lord Charlemont always spoke of this election, as most flattering to himself, and as one event, amongst innumerable of the kind, by which the dispensations of Heaven are peculiarly marked; extracting satisfaction and self-approbation from the bosom of misfortune, and the triumphs

* The late John Forbes, Esq. M. P. for Drogheda.

† He took his seat, for the first time, in the House of Commons, the 11th of December, 1775.

of a nation, from the overwhelmings of the deep.——In the summer of 1776, the very ingenious and celebrated agriculturist, Mr. Arthur Young, paid a visit to Ireland. His account of his tour through this kingdom has been long since published, and is, with some slight exceptions, not merely an amusing, but a most instructive and useful publication; as it is in every person's hands, I shall not touch further on it here. Among other letters of recommendation which he brought to various persons in Ireland, who might, by their influence or knowledge, be of some utility to him in his proposed researches, he was favoured with one from Mr. Burke to Lord Charlemont, which deserves particular attention.

Westminster, June 4th, 1776.

My Dear Lord,

Permit me to make Mr. Young acquainted with you. To his works, and his reputation, you can be no stranger. I may add, that in conversing with this gentleman, you will find, that he is very far from having exhausted his stock of useful and pleasing ideas in the numerous publications with which he has favoured the world. He goes into our country to learn, if any thing valuable can be learned, concerning the state of agriculture, and to communicate his knowledge to such gentlemen as wish to improve their estates by such methods of enlightened culture, as none but people of good fortune can employ, especially in the beginning. But examples may be given, that hereafter will be useful, when you can prevail on yourselves to let the body of your people into an interest in the prosperity of their country. Your Lordship will think it odd, that I can conclude a letter to you without saying a word on the state of public affairs. But what can I say that will be pleasing to a mind formed like your's? Ireland has missed the most glorious opportunity ever indulged by heaven to a subordinate state,—that of being the safe and certain Mediator in the quarrels of a great empire. She has chosen instead of being the arbiter of peace, to be a feeble party in the war waged against the principle of her own liberties. But I beg pardon for censuring, or seeming to censure, what I perhaps so little comprehend. It certainly is much above me. Here we are, as we are. We have our little dejections for disappointments, our little triumphs for advantages, our little palliatives for disgraces, in a contest, that no good fortune can make less than ruinous. I return to Mr. Young, whom I am sure you will receive with the hospitality which you always shew to men of merit. Mrs. Burke joins me in

our best compliments to Lady Charlemont. Your Lordship, I trust, believes, that I have the most affectionate concern in whatever relates to your happiness, and that

I have the honour to be ever, my dear Lord,
Your most faithful, and obliged humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.'

On part of this letter I may have occasion to make one or two observations in the course of these memoirs. At present, I shall proceed with the narrative.

The English Cabinet now determined on the recal of Lord Harcourt. Ireland presented a melancholy aspect. At the Castle, patronage, extended beyond all former precedent, found its limits only in a treasury, so decrepit, and so beggared, as to afford no longer nutriment to it. In the Metropolis, mendicancy; in various parts of the kingdom, south and west, the provision trade crushed by an embargo; in every harbour, commerce almost prostrate. A sullen despondency took place every where; and that despondency was, in some places, only visited by a melancholy ray of gloomy satisfaction, in beholding the incipient distress of England, which now began to look to a lengthened contest with America; in its progress, sanguinary, in its termination, uncertain. If that distress was to be augmented, the people of Ireland might entertain a hope, that the British Cabinet would, at last, turn its eyes to them, and national misfortune produce that comprehensive policy, which ancient connexion, and coeval poverty, common justice, and the honest sympathy of a few in England, had hitherto solicited in vain. From America, vanquished, and laid low, Ireland had no reason to look for a diminution of its calamities. The cause of that country was, as to taxation, nearly, indeed altogether its own. The Parliament of England had not it is true waged war, nor was it necessary to enforce its supposed right of commanding the purse of the Irish nation. But that right was not relinquished. On the contrary, it lay in their statute book, as a weapon in an armory, to be made use of at their bidding. Blackstone, in his Commentaries, then not many years published, and of a form too novel, too elegant, not to find their way where other law books would be repulsed, had told the English nation, and more fatally told many of its academic youths, who were destined to be legislators of England, that, as such, they could tax this

country at their pleasure. Even at the hour now under contemplation, some English statesmen had, as unequivocally, as indiscreetly, declared such sentiments within the walls of the House of Commons. If therefore this claim was to be established by force of arms in America, Ireland might perhaps be visited in its turn. Proximus ardet Ucalegon. With this difference only, that all flame here would, in proportion to our vicinity, and circumscribed territory, be sooner extinguished. What else was to be expected? Prosperity has sometimes, though surely not frequently, a salutary influence on some individuals, but I do not remember to have ever read, or heard of any nation, which it made either better or wiser.

It is certainly not at all possible to suppose, that the state of affairs in Ireland could be unknown to the British Cabinet. Yet, that with such knowledge they could act, as they did, appears peculiarly strange. They must have been awake, (though some circumstances would seem to suggest the contrary,) not only to the wretchedness of the country, but to the principle on which they commenced the war with America. That principle, as I have already stated, embraced, and was formidable to Ireland. Yet was no effort made at this time to allay either our wretchedness or our fears. A larger portion of political wisdom, in the person of the Viceroy, seemed now necessary for the very existence of Ireland. But the appointment of a Lord Lieutenant appeared to follow the ordinary rules that prescribe the choice of a Viceroy in times the least marked by any peculiar event.

John Hobart, Earl of Buckinghamshire, the successor of Lord Harcourt, was, like him, descended, though far more remotely, from an eminent lawyer, and, like him too, had been employed in a diplomatic situation, which, though less splendid, was at the time more connected with business. He had been ambassador in Russia at the commencement of this reign; and I believe from the return of his embassy, to his nomination here, remained, though not a stranger to the court, a stranger to all office whatever, in which any responsibility was concerned. His family was not very ancient, but some of his ancestors were illustrious.* He was an honest man, and had a better understanding than was generally supposed.

* Particularly the great lawyer, Sir Henry Hobart, and Sir Miles Hobart, so revered as a patriot in the first Parliaments of Charles the First.

If however he was not very conspicuous in politics, we must pronounce him a Richlieu, compared to his Secretary. Posterity will hardly perhaps believe that, at a juncture so critical and alarming, the Cabinet should not have insisted on the nomination of the latter, as well as the former. But the choice was left to Lord Buckinghamshire. And what opinion he had formed either of the difficulties he was to encounter, or the Irish Parliament, may be gathered from the person he selected; a worthy man undoubtedly; Mr. Richard Heron, his law agent, and supervisor (I believe,) of his estates. Now let the reader conceive an antique scrivener, or laborious conveyancer, from Gray's Inn, transplanted at once to such a scene as Ireland presented at that time! Yet was this gentleman, if in his power, to raise the manufactures, the revenue, the commerce of the country, all drooping, all withered! To combat the prejudices of the mercantile interest in England; to sooth clamours at home; to reconcile the minds of men to a desolating civil war with America; to balance parties, to manage the leaders of the House of Commons, and "win the high debate!" Alas! good man! He was not only inadequate to all this, but to any part of it; nor was he to be blamed. Neither his species of knowledge, nor habits of life, were in the slightest degree assimilated to his situation. What right had the British Cabinet to complain, when they committed the interests of both countries, in truth, to such a well-meaning, but inefficient personage? They made loud exclamations, but they were the authors of their own calamities.

Lord Buckinghamshire met Parliament in October, 1777. For some time after it opened, nothing of particular moment occurred, except the debate on the embargo, the necessity of which was feebly supported by Burgh, pertinaciously by Scott, and opposed with great vivacity, and honest indignation, by Ogle, superior point, delicate satire, and ingenious argument by Grattan; but, above all, by the rapid, irresistible reasoning, and manly eloquence of Daly, who, on this occasion put forth the full force of his abilities, and towered equally above friends and foes in the debate. Mr. Fox was in Dublin about this time, accompanied by Lord John Townshend. He was not present during the discussion of the embargo, but he attended the House constantly in the earlier part of the session. He was much struck with the vivacity, and quickness of the Irish Speakers. Mr. Grattan he often heard, and was particularly captivated by him.

He spent much of his time with one of his oldest friends, the late excellent Bishop of Downe,* and frequently saw Lord Charlemont, whom he had long known, and long respected. This session was protracted to a great length, and was, in some respects, of unusual importance.

If in the preceding year, (1777) Ministers had many difficulties to oppose, they were now destined to encounter evils of a magnitude hitherto unexampled. Towards the close of that year, a British army had been led into captivity, and General Burgoyne's surrender seemed to be the event, which, if any hesitation had before existed in the French Councils, as to the policy of openly assisting the American cause, now banished all irresolution on that point. The Cabinet of Versailles acknowledged the states of America as friends and allies. So feeble are all treaties, so unstable are the declarations of potentates, when set in competition with the chance of one rival nation rising on the ruins of another. In the course of another year, Spain pursued the same system; thus was exhibited the curious phenomenon of the younger branch of the Bourbons, supporting revolted colonies, though at the risque of setting an example to their own; and the elder branch of the same house, coming forth in a very novel character indeed,—the declared protector of independency, natural rights, and the general liberty of mankind. With what sincerity it is unnecessary to state. But the language was specious, and therefore more to be guarded against. A combination like this was truly formidable, and required to be opposed, not only by immediate, and spirited hostility, but by measures of such conciliating policy, as would tend best to consolidate and extend that hostility.—During the discussion of some commercial points, proposed to be conceded in favour of Ireland, it was suggested by Mr. Townshend, afterwards Lord Sydney, to widen the foundation of the intended system, by extending such privileges to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as would give them a better interest in the common cause. Lord North, with his usual liberality, adopted the idea, but said, that any such measure should originate with the Irish Parliament. Subsequent to this, Sir George Savile, though, as well known, not co-operating with the minister in his general politics, brought in a bill for the removal of particular disabilities affecting the Roman Catholics in England. He was ably seconded

* Dr. William Dickson.

by Mr. Dunning, and, indeed, with great candour on both sides of the House.—The business now advanced. The declaration of the minister; the example of such men as Savile, and Dunning; the spirit displayed in the British Parliament; were not without their influence here. On May 27th, 1778, Mr. Gardiner,* a young gentleman of accomplished mind, and large possessions, moved for leave to bring in heads of a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, which was granted, though, as might be expected, the circumstances of the two countries being totally dissimilar, not with that cordiality which marked the entrance of Sir George Savile's act. Two most respectable men were joined to Mr. Gardiner in the resolution to prepare the bill: Mr. Barry Barry,† an active, intelligent Member of Parliament, and Mr. Yelverton.‡ The chief objects of the bill were to empower Catholics, subscribing the oaths of allegiance, to take leases of lands for 999 years, and to render such property as devisable, and descendible, as that enjoyed by protestants. To this was added a clause, disabling the eldest son of a Popish family from making his father tenant for life, as heretofore, by his own conformity to the established religion. A legislative regulation so infamous as to disgrace any nation on earth. The bill was combated in every stage, whether in committee, or the whole House, and after division succeeding to division, was at last carried through the House of Commons. In the Lords, the numbers were 36 to 12. Lord Charlemont supported the clause, but opposed some other parts of the bill.

It may be necessary here to state, and in Lord Charlemont's own words, what passed but six years before in the Upper House of Parliament. "As some slight alleviation to the sufferings of the Papists, and to encourage the peasantry of this persuasion, to benefit the country by building cottages, heads of a bill were prepared to enable them to take leases for ninety years, of the tenement, on which their cabin was to be built, and of a small portion of ground to serve as a potatoe garden. This bill had been repeatedly moved in the Commons, and repeatedly rejected. In 1772 I resolved to try it in the Lords, and so far prevailed, as to get it read twice, and committed. But all in vain. The House had hitherto been thinly attended, and to this circumstance I owed my success.

* Afterwards Lord Montjoy.
† The late Earl of Farnham.
‡ Afterwards Lord Avonmore.

But the trumpet of bigotry had sounded the alarm. To give the wretched cottager a permanent interest in his miserable mud-built habitation, was said to be an infringement on the penal code, which threatened the destruction of church and state. A cry was raised that the Protestant interest was in danger. The Lords were summoned to attend, the House was crowded with zealous supporters of orthodoxy, and oppression, and I was voted out of the chair, not wholly unsuspected of being little better than a Papist."

But if the spirit of 1772 had somewhat abated, however slightly, the condition of the empire was, during the short space of six years, materially, and unfortunately changed. One of the peculiar, and distressing embarrassments, to which Ireland has been more subjected, than other countries, is the rapid transition of its legislature, on the same subject, from one extreme to another; and few measures have been so opportunely, frankly, and liberally conceded, as not to leave behind them too many vestiges of that deep-rooted discontent, which it was the laudable object of such measures to remove. It has been peculiarly the case with regard to the Catholic questions, which the penal code against that body has furnished in such melancholy abundance to the consideration of Parliament. Had such questions been brought forward, when the mind of the legislature was more vacant, and unrestricted by external circumstances; if the Penal code had been alone combated, and the attack on it, unaided by particular combinations of events, which controlled every thing within their reach, the demolition of that code would certainly have been much slower, but it would have appeared, at least, the result of more conviction, and therefore excited more gratitude, and respect in the minds of those, for whose benefit it was so successfully assailed. It certainly is a melancholy consideration, that mankind require too often to be frightened into a performance of their duty; but the code of Queen Anne, was, in particular instances, so monstrous, and some of its restrictions, from a change of times and manners so superannuated, so opposite to all wholesome policy, that it could hardly have survived a century, though no great national calamity had ever taken place. Certainly not in any country that had access to books, to the progressive knowledge of the age, and an interchange of sentiment with other people than its own. It was framed for the preservation of a colony, not the growth of a kingdom.

But if the war was the predominant cause which led to the adoption of the

act of 1778, there were also some internal, and local causes, which, no doubt, facilitated its progress. Though the vindictive spirit against the Catholics still subsisted, and in very formidable strength, it did not walk abroad arrayed in so much horrors as formerly. Tradition was indeed very efficacious, but as according to the well-known observation, our minds are more sluggish in receiving any impression from what we hear, than what we see, it was not to be expected that the senator, of 1778, should regard the Catholic with the same undiminished sentiments of terror, and disgust, as his ancestor of 1703; though perhaps in no country that ever yet existed, was the traditionary tale of historic woe more fully preserved, and more duly and sedulously given to its young hearers. Without exaggeration, it may be said to have formed part of our education. Too often on both sides. But if the Catholic was taught to hate, the Protestant was also taught, and had it now in his power, to give to that hatred an almost paralyzing efficacy.—Exhausted, and worne down by rancour abroad, and in the very bosom of his family meeting, or dreading to meet, filial rebellion and ingratitude, *as prescribed for his good by act of parliament*, more than one wealthy Catholic proprietor became a very venial hypocrite, to shelter himself from the legalized hypocrisy of his son, and conformed to the established religion, to save his family from mendicancy and oppression. Thus, if he preserved his estate, he preserved his ancient predilections also; tacitly perhaps, but when his former brethren's Interests were, as he conceived, at stake, those predilections were never lost sight of. This may be exclaimed against; but, from a code which absolutely bribed a son, if not to crush, at least to manacle his father, as to his property, and rob his family, what could be expected but deception, and concealed, not extinguished, resentment? Or what anchorage could the state have in such a man's affections? From such a quarter, however, sprung up a species of Catholic interest in the House of Commons. It was not extensive; but it was aided by many Protestant gentlemen, who, holding large estates, with many Catholics residing on them, very naturally wished to give such Catholics a more permanent interest in their possessions; and at once aid them, and raise the value of their own property. Politics, or Election, and parliamentary advantages, formed also part of such gentlemen's perspective, in taking this ground, however distant. The provision trade, till broken by repeated embargoes, had enriched several catholics, who, unable to

purchase land, had created a multiplied adherence by money, which they lent, at legal interest, and to members of both Houses among others. To what extent this cause operated I know not, it certainly had its effect. But, above every thing else, perhaps, was the American revolution favourable to the Roman Catholic cause. "A voice from America shouted to liberty," said Mr. Flood in the year 1782. That voice awakened the people here, especially in the North, to a sense of their political thraldrom. They asked themselves, and their neighbours, whence that thraldom, and why should it be submitted to any longer? But how shake it off? The majority of the people was in double servitude; and the fetters, forged for them at home, were more severely felt than those imposed by England. The latter, at least, they wore in common with the rest of their fellow subjects in Ireland. But the iron of their domestic chains ulcerated, and weighed down their mind. Those who looked to emancipation from the British Parliament, justly said, that liberty, like charity, should begin at home; nor could they hope for any co-operation from their Catholic brethren in a cause of freedom, which would avail Catholics little, in a country which could scarcely be called their own. Sentiments like these soon spread abroad; they found reception within the walls of both Houses of Parliament, and effectually aided the Catholic bill. Thus was the Popery code of laws, that gloomy fortress, which shut within its precincts a comparative paucity of the inhabitants of Ireland, and frowned terror on all the rest, first laid open.

The year 1778 furnishes not only ample, but even splendid materials for the historian of Ireland. Its national distress was indeed great, but its national spirit was still greater. Ireland, like Antæus, the more depressed to the earth, seemed to rise still stronger, and fiercer in proportion to its depression. The volunteer army now appeared. An institution totally unprecedented, totally unlike any thing which we read of, in any annals whatever. With the history of Lord Charlemont it particularly blends itself. It gave to him the justest celebrity, and, as he said himself, "to that institution my country owes its liberty, prosperity, and safety; and, if after *her* obligations, I can mention my own, I owe the principal, and dearest honours of my life." The origin of these singular, and celebrated armed associations is, in general, pretty well known. About this time, and perhaps a year or so before the present period, some detached corps had been embodied in different parts of Ireland, particularly

the county of Wexford, by the public spirit of some gentlemen; but the volunteer army of Ireland, is indebted for its formation to a letter of Sir Richard Heron's. Little did that worthy gentleman, and most undesigning statesman, imagine that any part of his correspondence should give rise to hosts of armed citizens, self-paid, self-commissioned, which not only protected, but for some years spread a glory round Ireland, astonished England, and, it is believed, obliged France to pause in the midst of its ambitious projects. But if the presumption of man was not too untameable to be awed by any lesson whatever, an event like this might teach nations, "that, in the hands of Providence, the slightest instruments are productive of the greatest changes; and that selfishness, and injustice, will eventually destroy their own objects." The embargo already mentioned, had, in conjunction with other causes, reduced the export, and more especially the provision trade of Ireland. As the South languished under that embargo, so did the North under the pressure of the American war, which, as far as it could commercially operate here, desolated the linen trade, and with this falling off, of whatever meagre supports we had, fell also the revenue. The reduction of the former, produced a general discontent, and of the latter, an inability to pay for the necessary defence of the kingdom. In this state of things, the town of Belfast, which eighteen years before had been visited by invasion, applied to government for protection against the common enemy, who then menaced it with peculiar danger. Sir Richard Heron's answer was plain and candid. Government could afford it none.

To the many idle suggestions, (idle, as they only produced unnecessary irritation,) of the illegality of the volunteer army, this letter might perhaps be opposed as a substantial answer. Government was, as to national defence, abdicated, and the people left to take care of themselves. But if thus abandoned, their spirit soon supplied the defects, and imbecility of administration. Belfast, Antrim, the adjacent counties, poured forth their armed citizens. The town of Armagh raised a body of men, at the head of whom Lord Charlemont placed himself. Every day beheld the institution expand, a noble ardour was almost every where diffused, and where it was not felt, was at least imitated. Several, who had at first stood aloof, now became volunteers from necessity, from fashion. No landlord could meet his tenants, no member of Parliament his constituents, and no gentleman whatever the ladies, who was not willing to serve,

and act with his armed countrymen. The spirit-stirring drum was heard through every province, not to "fright the isle from its propriety," but to animate its inhabitants to the most sacred of all duties; the defence of their liberties, and their country.

Government stood astounded. With unavailing regret, it now beheld the effects of its own immediate work indeed; but to look more retrospectively, the work of its predecessors, and of England. To disunite, or disarray the volunteers was beyond their power, though the secret object of their wishes. Disunion, without money, was impracticable; and the volunteers well knew that the contractors, and manufacturers, at the other side of the channel, who had impoverished the Exchequer, and the courtiers, who had robbed it here, could not rob them of their arms and privileges. The former would give nothing, and the latter had nothing to give. But money, if to be had, could then have effected little, or rather nothing whatever. As a body, the volunteers, in that hour of generous enthusiasm, were as unassailable by gold, as by fear. As to disarraying them, supposing its accomplishment, to such a state had Ministers brought matters, it could not have been effected without danger. Contending terrors agitated administration. An army, acting without any authority from the crown, was a subject of great alarm; but French invasion was a cause of alarm still more immediate; and yet, no other troops had Ministers to oppose to invasion, than this formidable volunteer army, with whom, or without whom, they now did not know how to live. America had drained both kingdoms of their forces; and for the raising of a militia, government had no money, and the volunteers no inclination. Ministers looked around for succour, but in vain. There stood the French,—here the volunteers, one of whom, they thought, would destroy them. They must have fancied themselves somewhat in the situation of fair Rosamond, who saw poison in one hand of her rival, a dagger in the other, and herself doomed to die by the bowl or poniard, just as suited her own inclinations. One notable expedient Ministers, or some of their emissaries, had recourse to, in order to divide the volunteers, which I had almost forgotten, but it deserves to be mentioned. It was proposed to some of their officers, (this took place in the South) to get commissions from the crown, or take them out at first as for form's sake merely. "In case of an invasion," said those forlorn logicians, "and that you are taken

prisoners, such commissions will alone entitle you to an exchange." At that very moment, was a noble English army captive in America! So strangely forgetful are some intemperate politicians of the most alarming events, even of yesterday, and so unable, or so resolutely determined are they, to draw no beneficial inference from them whatever.—The volunteers were, at last, no longer teazed nor tormented. Those who were most attached to administration, fell into their ranks, as well as its opponents. In little more than a year, their numbers amounted to forty-two thousand men. The Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Clanricarde, Lord Charlemont, not to mention other noblemen, and gentlemen of the highest stations, commanded them in different districts.

At this time commenced the most active part of Lord Charlemont's life. That man must be cold-blooded indeed, who can look back to those days, without a lively satisfaction, and becoming elevation of mind. I allude more particularly to the years 1781 and 1782, when trade revived, the volunteer army became disciplined, and a general harmony prevailed throughout Ireland. They may be regarded as the brightest which this country ever beheld. I have read somewhere, that Marshal Tallard, with the elegant politeness of a courtier of Louis the 14th, and a sensibility of mind superior to all politeness, told Lord Devonshire, at parting from him, " that when he returned to France, and reckoned up the days of his captivity, he should leave out those he spent at Chatsworth." It is no affectation to say, that so might Ireland at *this time* have addressed Lord Charlemont, and assured him, that in counting the years of her thraldom, she left out those of the volunteer institution.

Generosity, frankness, and above all, a disposition in Irishmen, to regard each other, with looks of kindness, were then most apparent. It was impossible to contemplate, and enjoy the cheerful dawn of unsuspicious intercourse, which then diffused its reviving light over this Island, without an abhorrence of that debasing policy, which, when the sword was sheathed, and the statute book slumbered, sullenly filled the place of both; turned aside the national character from its natural course, counteracted its best propensities, and, under the denomination of religion, fiercely opposed itself to the celestial precept of christianity,—love one another. The content, the satisfaction that sat on every face, and, I may add, the moral improvement, that formed one of the purest sources of that satisfaction, cannot be effaced from the memory. Let those

who sneer at the volunteer institution, point out the days, not merely in the Irish, but any history, when decorous manners kept more even pace with the best charities of life, when crime found less countenance, and law more reverence. This state of affairs lasted, it is true, but a short period. It has passed away like a dream. The mutability of all institutions every one feels; but few will acknowledge their own follies, which so often produce, or accelerate, such sad vicissitudes; and from folly we were not more exempt than others.

An investigation of some of the causes, which contributed to the celebrity and success of the volunteer army till the year 1783, may not be without its utility. It was fortunate for Ireland, that there should have been at that time, a growth of men, capable of restraining popular excesses; to whose understanding the people wisely committed themselves, and by whose prudence they triumphed. Livy mentions, that Roman virtue never shone so much, as in the second Punic war. "Never," says he, "were the people more disposed to revere the wisdom of their superiors, nor their superiors more disposed to favour the people." The success which attended the period I have now touched upon, should be a lesson to both. To the people, to be on their guard against vanity, and the higher orders against pride. Had the example of the French revolution taken place at that day, Ireland would, it is more than probable, have totally failed in her efforts. But there was then no rivalry of orders in the state; one thing professed, another thing concealed. The union that subsisted between men of superior endowments, and those of home-spun integrity, and good sense, was for the sole purposes of mutual triumph. Lord Charlemont, and the truly good and wise men who acted with him, took care to confine the public mind to two great principles—the defence of the empire, and the restoration of our constitution. In their steps to the latter, they were peculiarly cautious to limit the national claim to such a point only as Ireland herself could not divide upon. This was a grant of a free trade. As to the Constitution, Protestants, and Catholics had agreed to a declaration of right, in 1641; the Protestant House of Commons, when it had expelled the Catholics, would not listen to any measure, which gave countenance to the authority of the English Parliament, and the Catholics, in all their propositions, and treaties, had insisted on the great point of parliamentary independency. In this measure, therefore, the

principal men who now came forward, again united Ireland, and by their statements, and publications, divided England so far as to prevent its acting in concert against them, for, in two or three years subsequent to this period, a great part of England admitted the justice of our claims.—Another cause contributed to national success. It has been already partially displayed,—the good conduct of the people. If the kingdom was menaced from abroad, it was at home in a state of unexampled security. Private property, private peace, were every where watched over by the volunteers, with a filial and pious care. Ministers, or rather those who wish to render themselves acceptable to any ministry, by their mean subserviency, could not have styled the volunteer associations as, most fatally, they styled the Americans, a banditti; or, had they been silly enough to have attempted to proceed against them as such, they would have transformed *themselves* into the most intemperate, imbecile banditti, that history could contemplate.—Hume observes, that the Revolution of 1688 was accomplished by the first persons of the country, in rank and intellect, leading the people. Hence it ended in liberty, not confusion. The revolution of Ireland in 1782 was formed in a similar manner.

I have stated that the national distress in 1778 was great. In truth, it could hardly be exceeded. The complaints of our manufacturers at last reached England. The ministers there, especially Lord North, were disposed to give every attention to them, and they did come forward with some resolutions, beneficial perhaps, but of very limited extent. Contracted however as they were, the manufacturing towns of Lancashire took the alarm. Petition followed petition, and every petition rose in selfishness, illiberality, and ignorance, above those that preceded it. The intemperance of some places was such as to become ridiculous. They said, that their cotton trade would be ruined, and almost unequivocally declared, that, rather than submit to that, they would go back to their old trade of rebellion, as in 1745 and 1715. But what shall we say to those members of the British House of Commons, (they were indeed but few,) who denied that we suffered any distress whatever, or, if there was any, that it arose, not from the restrictive commercial system of England, but our own want of police? It would be a difficult matter to ascertain, of what police any unhappy manufacturers could be the objects, who, when corn was most plenty, as in this very year, and the preceding one, could not buy it. Thousands of

whom were supported by charity. Or what police, in the most extended meaning of the word, could benefit the farmers, who, from want of all market, as agriculture and manufacture equally aid each other, and corn falling to the lowest price, were unable to pay their rents, and suffered nearly as much as the manufacturer.* Nor was this the casual poverty of one or two years, but the recurring distress of many. In short, during this prattle of narrow-minded ignorance, the commercial pulse of Ireland stood almost still. Ministers felt the disorder, and would have prescribed, successfully perhaps, for it, but jealousy, as despicable as ill-grounded, prevented them. In vain were many noble efforts made in both Houses of the British Parliament, by Lord Nugent, Lord Beauchamp, Mr. Burke, Lord Ossory, in the Commons; by the Duke of Manchester, Lord Lansdowne, and the Marquis of Rockingham, in the Lords. With the Marquis Lord Charlemont corresponded, and aided all his efforts; but two or three manufacturing towns prevailed over Ireland, and its most enlightened friends.

When the people here found the session closed in England, and nothing substantial accomplished, they did not fold their arms in foolish despair. They were then taught, as distress will indeed effectually teach any nation, or individual, that their best dependence was on themselves. They had recourse to that policy, which Swift had in vain advised half a century before. They not only used their own manufactures, but entered into a non-importation agreement of any whatever from England. This resolution was embraced with the usual characteristic ardour of the Irish. The despondency of the manufacturers, of the lowest order, was changed to thanksgiving; some of the fashionable gentry, who had been more supine than others, were reanimated to a sense of their duty. The volunteer bands increased not more in numbers than in spirit. Lord Charlemont was seen every where among them. He mingled his mind with theirs, and was every where revered and followed.

Matters were now drawing to a crisis. The Irish Parliament met in October, 1779. The Lord Licutenant's speech from the throne, did not say much, and the address in answer, did not, of course, presume to say more. Such addresses, as well as the parliamentary speeches that precede them, are too

* See the Commercial Restraints of Ireland, by the late Right Hon. John H. Hutchinson.

frequently, in point of meaning, exactly of a similar value with those "Verses by a person of quality," as some rhyming, and most feeble poetical effusions were termed at the commencement of the last century; both echoes; with this difference however, that the latter are the faded echoes of poetry long since departed indeed, but, in its early existence, original and vigorous;—but the latter are the echoes of, if the phrase may be allowed, of mere inanity. However, when genuine, parental care of a kingdom resumes its station in Parliament, such vanities dissolve into air. An address, of a different complexion from those I have just mentioned, had, towards the close of the session of 1778, been moved by Mr. Daly. Its object was to open the trade of Ireland, and, though negatived, it left its impression. It was determined by him, and his friends, (Lord Charlemont was one of them,) to renew that address at the commencement of the next session. Accordingly, an address was formed, and moved by Mr. Grattan, as an amendment to the answer to the Lord Lieutenant's speech, which I have now stated. To counteract that amendment, the ministerial speakers introduced much general expression as to the trade of Ireland, but the opposition could not be so deceived. It was resolved, that a positive unequivocal requisition, to be restored to our commercial rights, should be preferred by the House of Commons. Mr. Grattan's amendment was prefaced by a preamble, stating the necessity, and justice of our claims. Mr. Burgh, at that time Prime Serjeant, approved of the amendment, but condemned the preamble, and suggested one short, simple proposition. Mr. Flood whispered to him across the benches,—"state a free trade merely." Burgh instantly adopted the words, and moved, "That nothing, but a free trade could save the country from ruin." Mr. Grattan at first objected to withdrawing the preamble, as he not only considered it a necessary adjunct to any motion that could be made on the subject, but was afraid, by dividing the proposition, to make room for some adroit and successful parliamentary manœuvre, which would get rid of the whole. However, when Mr. Conolly, the brother-in-law of the Lord Lieutenant, and who, from that connexion, as well as his rank and situation, might in the fluctuating state of the House, have commanded a majority, not only expressed himself strongly in favour of a free trade, but against the preamble, Mr. Grattan withdrew it, stating, at the same time, that he did so, in the full and entire expectation, that the resolution, as to a free trade, should be un-

equivocally supported. Mr. Burgh's amendment was then put and carried unanimously. This is the history of that famous, and operative resolution.—When the House of Commons attended the Lord Lieutenant with this resolution, the volunteers of the Dublin district lined the streets through which they passed, as a mark of respect and grateful approbation. The Duke of Leinster, was, on that day, at their head. So perfectly correct, as well as spirited, had the conduct of the volunteer army been throughout the kingdom, that the House of Commons, almost as soon as it met, voted their unanimous thanks to them. Soon after, they passed a money bill for six months and no longer.—To detail the speech of the English minister, and the commercial resolutions which he moved in consequence of our claim of a free trade, would change the entire nature of this work, which professes to be, not the memoirs of a nation, but an individual. It is true, that the history of Ireland at this time, is in many respects the history of Lord Charlemont; but I should pass beyond all biographical limits, if I gave too much expansion to such events, however national and important, as he was not immediately, and personally connected with. In the measures for obtaining a free trade, he took a most decided part, but as he did not often speak in parliament, others were necessarily more prominent. It is due however to the memory of that most amiable man, Lord North, to state, that his speech, on moving the commercial resolutions, was able, liberal, and conciliating. It contains the amplest information on the subject. The history of the navigation act, the woollen manufacture, and the manner in which we were excluded from both, are clearly stated.—The resolutions which re-opened the woollen trade to Ireland, and gave to us a freedom of commerce with the British colonies, on certain stipulations, were received in this country with joy and gratitude. Dublin was illuminated, and universal satisfaction prevailed.

If that satisfaction was not as permanent as some expected, the Irish are not to be blamed. The alteration of the Mutiny bill, which had been sent from hence, to a perpetual one, excited very general indignation; other impolitic acts were complained of. The spirit of the nation flamed higher than ever. Mr. Grattan not so much imbibing, as diffusing, a large portion of that spirit, and acting in concert with his friend, Lord Charlemont, moved a declaration of rights in favour of Ireland. The oration which he made on that occasion can never be

forgotten by those who heard it. The language of Milton, or Shakespeare, can alone describe its effects. It "fulmined over" Ireland; whilst the Commons, who seemed at first electrified by such impassioned, and commanding eloquence, and afterwards shrunk from his proposition, gave it entire blazon. When printed it was contrasted with their conduct, and read with more avidity. Necessarily imperfect as the copy was, those who perused it, could not conceive how it could be resisted. The popular indignation now vented itself in angry, but justifiable resolutions, and variety of addresses. Parliament did not rise till September, 1780. Lord Buckinghamshire was recalled the Christmas following. I cannot take leave of this nobleman, without stating, as I am enabled to do, by one who never spoke at random, (the late Lord Pery,) that his dispatches, in proportion as he became acquainted with Ireland, were just, accurate, and in every respect those of an honest man. But ministers paid little, or no attention to them. We can account for this neglect, partly from Lord Buckinghamshire's want of support, either from great parliamentary alliance, or imposing talents, and much more, perhaps, from the daily augmenting embarrassments of the ministers at that time; but, not only to neglect a Viceroy, who had faithfully depicted the state of the country, but to blame him for every thing that was done, whilst he resided in Ireland, as they did, was most ungenerous, and no apology can be made for such disingenuous conduct. I well remember Lord Pery's words,—Never was man used worse than Lord Buckinghamshire.

The Earl of Carlisle came to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, at the close of December, 1780; a nobleman of high birth, polished mind, and graceful manners. To those of exalted rank, who pay real attention to literature, the best thanks of the community are due. Lord Carlisle has cultivated letters successfully, and the earls of Surrey, and of Arundel, might have claimed him, not less from poetic taste, and a love of the fine arts, than consanguinity. If indeed the wits of Charles the second, are entitled to full credit, Melpomene, during that Monarch's reign, could have exclaimed equally with the unhappy queen of Scots; "Alas! what has that noble house of Howard suffered for *my* sake?" But "the Father's revenge," had not then appeared. It would have called forth a very different language, and the muse of severe tragedy must, I think, have not only justified, but applauded the criticisms of Johnson. Mr. Eden, now Lord Auckland, came with him as secretary. A gentleman, the

very reverse of sir Richard Heron. Perfectly skilled in parliamentary language and management; of quick, as well as versatile parts, consummate talents for business, and correspondent industry, he was well calculated, not only to guide the nation in its newly-opened path of commerce, but to form such establishments, as would advance its progress therein, and enable them to improve what they had acquired. But, for such acquisitions a more pacific season was requisite. The nation called aloud for independence, and without a free constitution, they regarded a free trade as altogether insecure, and so far of inferior value. Lord Carlisle did not meet parliament till the October after his arrival. But the Secretary did not suffer the intermediate time to pass away unproductively. Some members, and, as it afterwards appeared, one or two leaders, were soothed into approbation of his measures. The plan of a national bank was agitated, and afterwards carried into execution. Other regulations took place.

Early in the spring of this year (1780,) began that acquaintance of Lord Charlemont with Dr. Haliday, a celebrated physician of Belfast, which was afterwards improved into the most ardent friendship on both sides, and only ceased with Lord Charlemont's life. The two following letters, though written at different periods, form the commencement of that epistolary correspondence between them, ample extracts from which will be given to the reader. It is in many parts, not less a faithful picture of Ireland, during a very busy, and agitated period, than of Lord Charlemont's life, his habits, and sentiments on various topics, especially the politics of this country. Haliday was a scholar, a man of peculiar and varied genius, and talents. As a physician, universally esteemed throughout the North of Ireland, or a considerable part of it, and his medical skill was not less sought after, than his conversation, which was truly valuable. He knew mankind perfectly; but his wit, which was abundant, in no wise partook of that saturnine complexion, which too deep an insight into our frail nature, and a vexatious intercourse with the world, may sometimes generate, but will too often be found in company with a cold heart, and a vain mind, affecting that superiority to which it has no claim. He was as playful as intelligent; full of life and humour, candid, hospitable, and benevolent. As a politician, he was liberal and independent; and in a town, at that time much tinctured with republicanism, entertaining as he did, sentiments of the purest whiggism,

he became extremely dear to Lord Charlemont. The two letters which now appear, are merely introductory to the rest, and the last should not have been given, if Lord Charlemont's testimony to the excellence of a late venerable character was not too pleasing to be suppressed. They both relate to the reviews, which took place, under his auspices, at Belfast.

" April 23, 1780. The extreme kindness of your invitation is no longer to be resisted; neither can my too well-grounded fear of being troublesome prevail against my ardent desire of being personally acquainted with, and I may add, of being obliged to a gentleman, whose general character is such as to rank him among those very few, from whom I would wish, and rejoice to receive obligations. I will then most certainly have the pleasure of accepting the favour you wish to confer. Mr. Grattan has been kind enough to consent to be my aid-de-camp, and shall think himself happy in an opportunity of being known to you. You have undoubtedly heard of the astonishing share he took in the late great day of debate. I call it a great day, because though not precisely in the manner we intended, we most certainly gained our point, and have laid a ground for going still further, in doing away the reproach of this country."

" Dublin, May 2, 1781. With cheerfulness, and with gratitude, I accept your kind invitation; may I add with exultation, and vanity; for indeed I am proud to be obliged to you, and shall ever look upon you as one of those very few, who, in conferring benefits, confer honour also. Nothing can give me greater pleasure, than to hear of Mrs. Stewart's* amendment, yet still you say that she is in a precarious state. When you favour me with a letter, I intreat that you would be particular in your account of her, as I am, in the highest degree, interested in her safety, on her own account, on that of her worthy husband, and especially, on account of that best, and most respectable of human beings, Lord Camden, whose life, I am convinced, depends upon the thread of her destiny. *Ille dies utramque ducet ruinam.*" In the winter, and spring of 1781, we find Lord Charlemont in London.

He had lost Mr. Beauclerk in the preceding year,* whose death he always lamented; but many literary, and respectable friends still remained to him in London. Sir Joshua Reynolds was always dear to him, and a sketch of his

* Mr. Beauclerk died in April, 1780.

character, as inscribed by his Lordship, under a picture of Sir Joshua's, is inserted in the Appendix. At that eminent artist's, and good man's table, which collected more literary, and accomplished men, than perhaps any other table in London, Lord Charlemont was a very frequent inmate. Boswell mentions his having passed a most agreeable day in his company, and that of some other gentlemen at Sir Joshua's, on the 30th of March, 1781, when a trifling incident took place, on which Boswell has enlarged with his usual good humour,* but the relation of which was far from pleasing to Lord Charlemont. On the contrary, he expressed himself with some degree of anger on the subject, and more than once declared, to the author of these memoirs, his disapprobation of the plan of a book, which, however lively and interesting, gave, without any consent whatever of the parties, their careless, unbended conversation to the world. Nothing, he added, could strictly authorize such a practice; and were it more generally adopted, all unrestricted intercourse in society would soon be put an end to. Johnson he highly esteemed, and honoured; but to raise up a literary monument to him, by setting in a note book, and afterwards divulging to the public, the casual expressions, or opinions, with all the petty incidents, whether of gaiety or asperity, that took place in his company, was unjust to the society which was occasionally gathered round him. Any colloquy could scarcely bear such a promulgation; and, were it possible to retain accurately any lengthened conversation, (which I believe it is not,) how much of its original grace, and vigour, must necessarily be lost! In this respect, Mr. Boswell has, and no wonder, particularly failed. How little, notwithstanding all his efforts, of the continued conversation of any society, eminent for its acquirements, and knowledge, has been given by him. He breaks off too often in the midst, and cannot pursue it. As to Johnson's conversation, it is, as illustrative of the man, highly curious, interesting, and often instructive; but, as displaying those powers of logical ratiocination, for which he so valued himself, and is so extolled by his biographer, it is lamentably defective; for the greatest part of his reasonings, as they are called, is complete sophistry. If, as he said, most unjustly surely, of the Scotch, that Scotland was more valuable to them than the truth, a temporary conquest in argument,

† See Mr. Boswell's account of that day in his life of Johnson.

was to him, unquestionably, of superior consequence to its stability, or its efficacy. He once gave an instance of this, which is to be deplored. In arranging the defence which was to be made by Baretti, on his charge for murder, at the Old Bailey, Mr. Burke and he differed, and with vehemence, about some parts of it. By his own confession afterwards, there would have been no difference, had there been no audience. Now, if the defence which Johnson suggested had been adopted by Baretti, and failed; consequently perhaps, endangered his life, what could Dr. Johnson have said, for being, at such a meeting, influenced by the applause of his audience? But, when victory was not his object, and he gave his opinions dispassionately, he was admirable. His remarks on the general business of life, and manners, cannot be surpassed; and, as a teacher, indeed teacher best of moral wisdom, as Milton says, I cannot sufficiently express my reverence for, and my obligations to him. Lord Charlemont, as I have mentioned, cordially esteemed him, and had a sincere regard for his biographer, whose life of Johnson was, as his Lordship conceived, on the grounds I have stated, liable to great objections. The execution of it, notwithstanding its many faults, he thought excellent; but the general plan incompatible with the freedom, and indeed sacredness, of social intercourse.

The Volunteer reviews of 1781 and 1782 were particularly splendid. At Belfast there were not less than five thousand men in the field, perhaps more. The volunteers were now, considering the time that they were embodied, remarkably well disciplined. In the course of the year 1781 an event took place, which peculiarly marks the gallantry, constitutional ardour, and noble loyalty which prevailed in the Northern army; and, had it been necessary to call it forth, the same spirit would unquestionably have been found in the South of Ireland. A rumour very generally prevailed, that an invasion of this country, by the French, was seriously determined on. Lord Charlemont finding that it obtained more credence than any report of a similar nature hitherto had, waited on the Lord Lieutenant, who acquainted him that there was every reason to consider it authentic: that an express had been sent to him by Lord Stormont, (secretary of state) stating a variety of particulars relative to the

* Frances, now Countess of Londonderry, daughter of the late Charles, Earl Camden.

proposed expedition, the port from whence the enemy was to sail, and where they were then actually assembled; that the city of Cork was the meditated place of attack; and, in short, no doubt could remain of the intelligence received. Lord Charlemont stated to the Lord Lieutenant, that he would, with his Excellency's permission, set out instantly for the north, where he had no doubt such a spirit would be displayed, as would, in its effects, tend to baffle every effort of foreign hostility. The Viceroy warmly approved of his intentions, and early the next morning Lord Charlemont set off for Armagh, where he arrived at night. All the officers of his own corps, which consisted of a thousand men, two troops of horse, and two artillery companies, were at that time in the town, attending the assizes. Lord Charlemont called them together, stated the object of his journey, and desired to know what they would authorize him to say to the Lord Lieutenant. In a few minutes they desired their Lieutenant Colonel to speak for them, and their answer was precisely in the following words: "My Lord, till this instant you have never done any thing displeasing to your regiment, but now we must say, that you have not a little offended us. Your present application to us, is not only needless, but in some degree offensive to our feelings. We have unanimously chosen you our colonel, and in that quality, relying upon our spirit, and certain of our obedience, instead of applying to us, you should in the first instance have assured the Lord Lieutenant, that your regiment would immediately join the king's troops at Cork. You should then have sent down your orders, and we would instantly have obeyed, marched, and met you in the field." Lord Charlemont told them, that their kind reproof was one of the highest obligations which he could have received from them; but that he thought it his duty to speak to them previous to any other step being taken, and begged that they would draw up some resolution, which he might lay before the Lord Lieutenant. They unanimously exclaimed, "No resolutions! no resolutions! only have the goodness, my Lord, to acquaint his Excellency, that our regiment shall be as soon at Cork, as any troops in his Majesty's service: and we beg that you will never again use us so ill, as to make such an application to us, but answer, at once for us in your own name, and command us always." The whole Northern army soon followed this noble example; all prepared to march, and declared their determination, on the slightest order from government, to go to the South, subject.

themselves to military discipline, and any of the king's generals that should command there. The only difficulty, Lord Charlemont said, was to controul this generous impetuosity, (the true characteristic of the Irish) so far, as not to deprive the north of all troops whatever. But, it is almost certain, that had any invasion taken place, fifteen thousand men from thence would have joined the king's army, and left a sufficient defence for the northern counties. The same ardour was universal throughout Ireland. It pervaded all ranks. When the youth at Newry prepared to leave that place, all the men who began to advance in years, gallantly formed a corps, into which no one under fifty, or, who had not a wife and children, was suffered to be enrolled. They called themselves the Ladies' fencibles, and were for a long time embodied. Lord Charlemont must have felt no slight exultation, in representing this disposition of his countrymen to the Viceroy. He only requested, that Government would prov de camp equipage for such corps as were not furnished with any. It was instantly ordered; but some months after the invasion was relinquished by the French, and, it may be presumed, that these preparations contributed not a little to its abandonment.

From the camp, to the peaceful shades of Marino, and his excellent library, was Lord Charlemont's usual transition in those days. Literature was his constant resource, aided by an agreeable, and varied society. Except by a few, it cannot be said, that letters were much cultivated at that time in Ireland. Yet, though the pursuits of a camp are necessarily incompatible, for the moment, with literary studies, the volunteer institution, so far from being formidable to such studies, eventually contributed to their extension. Almost every man of a liberal education throughout Ireland was now, occasionally at least, in the field, and many gentlemen of literary acquirements devoted no inconsiderable portion of their time to the camp, and such military knowledge, as, in their situation, they could obtain. The different ranks of society became more mingled. Those who were uninformed, frequently, often daily met those who were not so. Liberal intercourse took place, and many were ashamed of continuing ignorant. Reading became, though slowly, a fashion, and what was originally fashion, gradually changed into a favoured, and pleasing habit. It is indeed to be wished, that *that* habit was still more extended. But unquestionably, more books were bought, and continued to be so, after the volunteer

institution was formed, than ever before in Ireland. To Lord Charlemont's library and society, every man of letters, when properly recommended, was entirely and unaffectedly welcome. Some of the heads of the university, or those who were connected with it, particularly so. Among others, Mr. William Preston, a young gentleman of true poetical genius, very extensive erudition, and independent spirit. Lord Charlemont became his patron, and his friend. At this time he aided his genius as far as he could, by diffusing a publication of his works throughout such circles in London, as might fan the blaze of his poetical fame. He sent several copies to some of his literary friends there. A letter of Mr. Horace Walpole's, (Lord Orford) otherwise not important, will sufficiently illustrate Lord Charlemont's attention to his friend, Mr. Preston, in this respect.

Strawberry Hill, July 1st, 1781.

I have been exceedingly flattered, my Lord, by receiving a present from your Lordship, which at once proves that I retain a place in your Lordship's memory, and you think me worthy of reading what you like. I could not wait to give your Lordship a thousand thanks for so kind a mark of your esteem, till I had gone through the volume, which I may venture to say I shall admire, as I find it contains some pieces, which I had seen, and did admire without knowing their author.—That approbation was quite impartial. Perhaps my future judgment of the rest will be not a little prejudiced, and yet on good foundation, for if Mr. Preston has retained my suffrage in his favour by dedicating his poems to your Lordship, it must at least be allowed, that I am biassed by evidence of his taste. He would not possess the honour of your friendship unless he deserved it; and as he knows you, he would not have ventured to prefix your name, my Lord, to poems that did not deserve your patronage. I dare to say they will meet the approbation of better judges than I can pretend to be.*

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect, esteem, and gratitude,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,
HOR. WALPOLE.

* This ingenious, and excellent man, Mr. Preston, is now no more. He died, truly lamented, in February, 1807. A great intimacy subsisted between him and Lord Charlemont.

Parliament at last met, and on the first day of its meeting, Lord Charlemont, not forgetful of his fellow soldiers, moved, that the thanks of the House of Lords should be given to the Volunteers. The resolution passed unanimously; and a similar one was adopted by the Commons. Several members had now joined the ministerial standard, or were disposed to a junction. Mr. Flood, on the contrary, separated himself from administration, and was ironically felicitated by Mr. George Ponsonby, who supported Mr. Eden, on his departure from his long, and lamentable taciturnity.

O lux Dardaniæ, spes O fidissima Teucrum,
Quæ tantæ tenuere moræ?

If this, or any thing like it, was addressed to him, (I know not that it was) it no way affected his determination, which was now decidedly taken. He returned to his ancient, and able exposition of Poyning's law, spoke extremely well, and moved several just, and patriotic resolutions, not one of which, though he had great support in debate, was successful. In return, he was deprived not only of the vice-treasurership, but his place at the council board. It is true, that a seat in the privy council was an adjunct to his official situation, but, as several continued there, though deprived of office, it was unwise to make him an exception. It did not, of course, diminish the force of his eloquence, much less his asperity, and considerably augmented the ministerial embarrassments. But one large majority now succeeded to another, and the last was generally more numerous than that which preceded it. To proceed without a majority, is utterly impracticable on the part of any minister; but care should be taken, that the sentiments of that majority, and at least a very considerable part of the nation, should be in conjunction. A minister may fancy himself secure in numbers, but if the representatives of the people, and the people themselves, look totally different ways, without cohesion, or assimilation, it is impossible that things can remain long in such a situation. Lord Carlisle appears to have been justly sensible of this; and most strongly recommended to the English Cabinet a dereliction of all claims on the part of the British Parliament, to bind this country by any laws made at Westminster, as heretofore. But the people of Ireland looked to the conduct of their representatives, and began almost to despair that the domination of the British legislature would be ever shaken off. Some of Lord Charlemont's friends held the same language. He

however thought very differently, and rested his hopes on that which seemed to overwhelm them with despondency. He drew the most consoling augury from the conduct of the House of Commons itself; which, he said, would certainly end in the completion of all those objects, which it now perversely, and, in several instances perhaps, reluctantly frustrated. The majority ran so fast, that its fall might be almost confidently predicted; and he often said, that if such majorities had not been so marshalled, and so drawn forth, the meeting at Dungannon would never have taken place.

## 1782.

That celebrated convention now drew near. It originated from the southern battalion of the first Ulster regiment, commanded by Lord Charlemont. The officers, and delegates of that battalion, met on the 28th of December, 1781; when, having declared that they beheld with the utmost concern the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of Ireland, by the majority of those, whose duty it was to establish and preserve them, they invited every volunteer association throughout the province of Ulster, to send delegates to deliberate on the alarming situation of public affairs; and fixed on Friday, the 15th of February, 1782, for such assembly of delegates at Dungannon. On that very important day, the representatives of one hundred and forty-three corps of the volunteers of Ulster met, as appointed. Colonel William Irvine took the chair. They were all persons of most respectable property; many possessed indeed very considerable estates. Their loyalty and patriotism were equally known and acknowledged. They entered into twenty resolutions, declaratory of the rights, the grievances of Ireland, and, at the same time, their exultation in the relaxation of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics. Their concluding address, memorable for its pointed brevity and spirit, is given here.

"*To The right Honourable, and Honourable the Minority in both Houses of Parliament.*

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional rights of your country. Go on! The almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country, the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence, if we doubted of success."

Never was any address more triumphantly, more cordially received. It was malignantly hoped by a few, that some irregularity of phrase, some deviation from constitutional language, would afford a pretext, for at least dividing, or weakening the associations. But that hope now vanished, and foes, as well as friends, seemed equally to applaud them.

In somewhat more than a month after this eventful transaction, the British ministry at last gave way. The Irish Parliament had been adjourned from the 14th of March to the 16th of April, 1782. On the 14th of the month last-mentioned, the Duke of Portland came to Dublin as Viceroy, Lord Carlisle having sent his resignation to London by the hands of Mr. Eden. Colonel, now General Fitzpatrick, had preceded the Duke by some days, as his secretary. A gentleman, who to very agreeable, and excellent talents, added a most firm, and manly mind. Though not born in Ireland, he was of truly ancient and illustrious Irish lineage, being descended from the Princes of Ossory.* This circumstance particularly, as well as his general political character, rendered him very acceptable to the people of this country. The Duke of Portland's arrival in Dublin was hailed with the loudest acclamations.—A Whig ministry, at the head of which, was Lord Rockingham, and a Whig Viceroy, who had cheerfully co-operated with that ministry, and was personally much esteemed by Lord Charlemont, were, of course, in the highest degree, agreeable to him. General Fitzpatrick, on his coming to Dublin, prevented Lord Charlemont's visit to him, by calling almost immediately at Charlemont House; he had an interview with his Lordship, when he delivered a letter from the Marquis of Rockingham to his old and esteemed friend, the good Earl. Part of it is as follows:

My Dear Lord Charlemont,

The long and pleasing friendship which has so mutually and so cordially existed between your Lordship and me, for many, many years, may now, I trust, facilitate what I am sure has been the object of our public conduct,—the mutual advantage and prosperity of both these countries. National distrusts andjesalousies will not have the smallest weight on either of our minds.

* The well-known, and erudite Antiquary, Doctor Ledwich, says, "The noble representative of the family of Fitzpatrick, the present Earl of Upper Ossory, (brother to General Fitzpatrick,) possesses the advowson of particular churches, and a large estate in Upper Ossory: patrimonies descended to him through a line of progenitors, for more than one thousand years;—an instance not perhaps to be paralleled in Europe."

The Duke of Portland being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is, I think, my dear Lord, a pretty good pledge of the fair intentions of his Majesty's ministers.—His Grace's character, and disposition of mind, as well as the principles on which he has long acted, are well known to your Lordship, and I cannot but hope, that many advantages will arise from a trust and confidence in his character, which may produce the happiest effects, both in the commencement and progress of such plans as may be suggested. I can assure your Lordship, that his Majesty's present ministers will not loiter in a business of such magnitude.—This day his Majesty sends a message to the House of Commons, stating, that distrusts and jealousies have arisen in Ireland, and that it is highly necessary to take them into immediate consideration, in order to a final adjustment. The Duke of Portland will set out for Ireland to-morrow evening. His Grace is empowered to send the same message to the Parliament in Ireland.—I should hope that an adjournment of the House of Commons in Ireland, for a fortnight, or three weeks, in order to give the Duke of Portland the opportunity of enquiring into the opinions of your Lordship, and of the gentlemen of the first weight and consequence, will be readily assented to.—I cannot think that it would be good policy in the House of Commons of Ireland, to carry on measures, at this juncture, which should appear as measures to extort. In truth, my dear Lord, I think the time is come, when a new system, and new arrangement of connection between the two kingdoms, must be settled, to the mutual satisfaction, and the reciprocal interests of both. Let us unite our endeavours in so good a work.—I cannot conclude, without expressing to your Lordship, how anxious I shall be to hear from you.—Lady Rockingham begs to present her best compliments to your Lordship, and Lady Charlemont.

I have the honour to be, dear Lord Charlemont,

Most affectionately your's,

ROCKINGHAM.

Grosvenor-Square, Tuesday, P. M. Five o'clock, April the 9th, 1782.

I write in a great hurry, as I expect Colonel Fitzpatrick to call for the letter every moment. He sets out from hence.

Lord Charlemont's answer was as follows: The date of the letter is forgotten in the copy, but it appears to have been written directly after the meeting of Parliament, which was two days subsequent to the Duke of Portland's arrival.

My Dearest Lord,

As in writing to your Lordship, I find it indispensably necessary that I should follow and communicate the immediate feelings of my heart, I cannot, at this conjuncture, begin a letter to you, without expressing my joy and exultation at the late happy change of administration, a change in which I rejoice as a patriot, and as a friend. For, since the welfare of the empire at large is, I trust, one of my warmest wishes, can any thing be more pleasing to a mind so impressed, than to find that empire rescued from ruin, principally by the man whom I have been so long used in the most eminent degree to love and honour. The gratification of another passion, indeed the ruling passion of my soul, intervenes also to complete my satisfaction, and the love of my country induces me to exult in the power of a man, whose well known love of general liberty gives me the best-grounded reason to hope that he will employ that power in restoring the invaluable blessing of freedom to every part of these dominions. From what I have now said, your Lordship will readily conceive, that no greater misfortune could possibly befal me, than to be prevented in any way from giving my whole support to an administration, which is, in every respect, so dear to me. But, thank heaven, I have little reason to dread any such event; yet, unfortunately, a difficulty occurred at setting out. The adjournment proposed by your Lordship was absolutely impracticable, and a thorough knowledge of the state of this country would, I am sure, convince you, that it would have been extremely imprudent to have hazarded the proposition. The Parliamentary declaration of right was universally looked up to as an essential and necessary preliminary. It was a measure pointed out by the people, from which nothing could ever have induced them to recede, and if an adjournment had been proposed, the new administration would undoubtedly have been defeated at their first setting out. The message sent to Parliament rendered an immediate proceeding still more indispensable. The King desired to be informed of the causes of discontent, and those causes could not have been too soon ascertained, and declared, in order to their speedy removal. The nation was to the last degree anxious, and the minds of all men were attentively fixed on the event of the 16th April; and so decidedly was the sense of the people against any adjournment, that by giving way in a matter so very repugnant to their wishes, we, whose power of support consists principally, if not wholly, in our

popularity, might have endangered that influence, which, upon the expected and necessary redress of all our grievances, we wish to employ in your behalf. These reasons, and many others, too tedious to be now detailed, induced me to think the measure proposed, not only improper, but highly imprudent also; and they seemed to have some weight with the Duke of Portland, who honoured me with a long conference on the subject, and who, with great prudence, as well as goodness, gave up the point; neither will he, I am confident, have any reason to repent his concession. At the same time, least it should be thought that our aversion to postponement concealed under it, the least distrust of the present administration, I think it necessary to declare to your Lordship, as I did to the Lord Lieutenant, that my mind is incapable of harbouring any such principle; my intimate knowledge of you must naturally and necessarily banish all distrust. Yes, my dearest Lord, I look up to you with the most unbounded confidence, a confidence founded upon a thorough knowledge of your principles, and your wisdom. We ask but our rights—our uncontrovertible rights—restore them to us, and for ever unite in the closest and best rivetted bonds of affection, the kingdom of Ireland to her beloved, though hitherto unkind sister!—Bind us to you by the only chains that can connect us, the only chains we will ever consent to wear,—the dear ties of mutual love, and mutual freedom. But I have already detained you much too long. Pardon this unconscionable letter. I shall hasten to conclude by returning you my most sincere acknowledgments for the honour and favour of your's, and by assuring you that, as I loved you out of office, my affection still equally continues, even though you are a great minister, a rank of men, with which my heart has not often been much connected.—Lady Charlemont joins with me in best respects to Lady Rockingham, and desires her sincere compliments of congratulation to your Lordship. Believe me, my dearest Lord, that I speak much less than the sentiments of my heart, when I assure you, that

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most faithful, most affectionate humble servant,

CHARLEMONT.

The following letter from Mr. Fox should have preceded Lord Rockingham's, as it was written before his. Both were however received much about the same time by Lord Charlemont. "With Mr. Fox" his Lordship said, "I had the honour and pleasure of an old acquaintance; his wonderful talents, and astonishing parliamentary exertions, will be remembered with the highest applause, as long as oratory is held in estimation; that is to say, as long as the constitution exists." The frankness, simplicity, and wise, because *honest*, policy of that great statesman, appear in the subsequent letter to Lord Charlemont.

My Dear Lord,

If I had had occasion to write to you a month ago, I should have written with great confidence that you would believe me perfectly sincere, and would receive any thing that came from me with the partiality of an old acquaintance, and one who acted upon the same political principles.—I hope you will now consider me in the same light, but I own I write with much more diffidence, as I am much more sure of your kindness to me personally, than of your inclination to listen with favour to any thing that comes from a Secretary of State.—The principal business of this letter is to inform you, that the Duke of Portland is appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Colonel Fitzpatrick, his Secretary; and when I have said this, I need not add, that I feel myself on every private, as well as public account, most peculiarly interested in the success of their administration. That their persons and characters are not disagreeable to your Lordship, I may venture to assure myself, without being too sanguine, and I think myself equally certain, that there are not in the world two men whose general way of thinking upon political subjects is more exactly consonant to your own. It is not therefore too much to desire and hope, that you will at least look upon the administration of such men with rather a more favourable eye, and incline to trust them rather more, than you could do most of those who have been their predecessors. Why should not the complete change of system that has happened in this country have the same effect there that it has here? and why should not those who used to compose the opposition in Ireland, become the principal supporters of the new administration there, on the very grounds on which they opposed the old one? In short, why should not the whigs, (I mean in principle, not in name,) unite in every part of the empire, to

establish their principles so firmly, that no future faction shall be able to destroy them? With regard to the particular points between the two countries, I am really not yet master of them sufficiently to discuss them, but I can say in general, that the new ministry have no other wish than to settle them in the way that may be most for the real advantage of both countries, whose interests cannot be distinct. This is very general indeed, and if this language came from persons whose principles were less known to you, I should not expect you to consider it as any thing but mere words; as it comes from those, of whom I know your good opinion, I trust it will pass for something more. All we desire is favourable construction, and assistance as far as is compatible with your principles; for to endeavour to persuade men to disgrace themselves, (even were it practicable, as in this instance I know it is not) is very far from being part of the system of the ministry. The particular time of year at which this change happens, is productive of many great inconveniences, especially as it will be very difficult for the Duke of Portland to be at Dublin before your Parliament meets; but I cannot help hoping that all reasonable men will concur in removing some of these difficulties, and that a short adjournment will not be denied, if asked. I do not throw out this as knowing from any authority that it will be proposed, but as an idea that suggests itself to me, and in order to show that I wish to talk with you and consult with you in the same frank manner in which I should have done before I was in this situation, so very new to me. I have been so used to think ill of all the ministers whom I did know, and to suspect those whom I did not, that when I am obliged to call myself a minister, I feel as if I put myself into a very suspicious character; but I do assure you I am the very same man, in all respects, that I was when you knew me, and honoured me with some share in your esteem; that I maintain the same opinions, and act with the same people. I beg your pardon for troubling you with so long a letter; but the great desire I feel in common with my friends, that we should retain your good opinion, must make my apology.

Pray make my best compliments to Mr. Grattan, and tell him, that the Duke of Portland and Fitzpatrick, are thoroughly impressed with the consequence of his approbation, and will do all they can to deserve it. I do most sincerely hope, that he may hit upon some line that may be drawn honourably and advantageously for both countries, and that, when that is done, he will

shew the world that there may be a government in Ireland, of which he is not ashamed to make a part. That country can never prosper, where what should be the ambition of men of honour, is considered as a disgrace. I must beg pardon again for the unconscionable length of this letter. I do assure you, my dear Lord, that there is no one who more values your esteem, or is more solicitous for the continuance of it, than

Your very obedient, humble servant,

C. J. Fox.

Grafton-Street, April 4th, 1782.

Lord Charlemont immediately returned the following answer.

Dear Sir,

Give me leave in the first place to return you my most sincere thanks for the honour and favour of your letter; your finding leisure at this very busy period, when every moment of your time is precious to yourself, and to the Empire, for the recollection of an old friend, is a kindness which I had no reason to expect, and for which I shall ever be grateful. You do me also honour and justice in supposing that I should at all times receive any thing that comes from you with a great degree of partiality, and though your idea of the difference between the man, and the minister, be in some respects a just one, I *can* conceive, that a man in high ministerial office may be a perfectly honest man; indeed the arrangement of the present administration would alone be sufficient to persuade me of this possibility. No man can be more rejoiced than I am at the late happy, though tardy, change. I rejoice in it as a friend to individuals, but more especially as a member of the Empire at large, which will probably be indebted to for it its salvation. I hope also, and doubt not, that I shall have reason to rejoice in it as an Irishman, for, I cannot conceive that they, who are intent upon the great work of restoring the empire, should not be ardently attentive to the real welfare of all its parts, or, that true Whigs, genuine lovers of liberty, should not wish to diffuse this invaluable blessing through every part of those dominions, whose interests they are called upon to administer. The appointment of the Duke of Portland, and his secretary, is a good presage. I know and respect their principles, and should be truly unhappy, if any thing in their conduct respecting this country, should prevent my perfect co-operation with them.

For, my dear Sir, with every degree of affection for our sister kingdom, with every regard for the interests of the Empire at large, I am still an *Irishman*. I pride myself in the appellation, and will in every particular act as such, at the same time declaring, that I most sincerely and heartily concur with you in thinking, that the interests of England and Ireland, cannot be distinct, and that therefore in acting as an Irishman, I may always hope to perform the part of a true Englishman also. With regard to what you hint respecting an adjournment, I sincerely hope it will not be desired, as the matter seems to me to involve some great, not to say, insurmountable difficulties. The eyes of all the nation are eagerly fixed on the meeting of the 16th. The House is convened for that day, by this very particular summons; that *every member should attend, as he tenders the rights of parliament*. The declaration of an independent legislature is, on that day, to be agitated, and the minds of all men are so fixed upon the event, which they have every reason to imagine will be favourable to their wishes, that I should greatly fear the consequences of any postponement, especially, as from sad experience the people have been taught to suppose, that a question postponed is, *at least*, weakened. This too is an act of the House, and the House alone.—Such are the difficulties which occur. However, though they appear insuperable, so strong is our wish not to throw any obstacle in the way of the present administration, that we shall wait to be determined by events. I have seen Grattan, and have communicated the kind paragraph in your letter concerning him. He desires his most sincere thanks to you, for your goodness, and friendly opinion of him. We are both of us precisely of the same mind. We respect and honour the present administration. We adore the principle on which it is founded. We look up to its members with the utmost confidence for their assistance in the great work of general freedom, and should be happy to support them in Ireland, in the manner which may be most beneficial to them, and honourable to us; *consulted, but not considered.**

The people at large must indeed entertain a strong partiality for the present Ministers. True whigs must rejoice in the prevalence of whiggish principles.—The nation wishes to support the men who opposed the detested American war. Let our rights be acknowledged, and secured to us. Those rights which no

* This is rather imperfectly expressed. His Lordship, I presume, meant to say, that they wished to be consulted, as statesmen, but not *considered,* in any new ministerial arrangement of offices, then likely to take place.

man can controvert, but which, to a *true* Whig, are self evident; and those lives and fortunes which are now universally pledged for the emancipation of our country, will then be as cheerfully, as universally, pledged for the defence of our sister kingdom.

You have thought it necessary to apologize for the length of your letter, though such an apology was needless, as I never received any which gave me greater pleasure. What then ought I to say for mine? But excuses will only take up more of your precious time. I will therefore at once conclude, begging you to present my most affectionate compliments to all my friends, and particularly to my dear Lord Rockingham, whom I called *dear*, when out of office, and have therefore a right to do so now. Be assured, my dear Sir, that nothing can be more valuable to me, than your friendship and esteem, and that I desire nothing more ardently, than constant opportunities of cultivating them, and of proving to you how sincerely I am,

Your most faithful, and
Obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

The proceedings of the 16th of April, 1782, have been given in many publications, but it is not so generally known, that the resolutions which Mr. Grattan moved on that day, were objected to at the Castle. Not perhaps in substance, for the English ministry meant fairly, but some modifications were proposed, which, according to Lord Charlemont, would have diminished their weight and efficacy. Perhaps the Duke of Portland might have imagined, that they would not be acceded to by the British cabinet, unless in some degree altered. Lord Charlemont had some interviews with his Grace on the subject, and declared, that it was the intention of his friends, as well as himself, to move the resolutions in both Houses, without any alteration, and that administration might take what part it pleased. In such a state of uncertainty were matters, that, when the House of Commons met, it was not known by Lord Charlemont, or his particular friends, whether the resolutions, or address, which Mr. Grattan intended to move, would be opposed, or not. He prefaced his declaration of right, with a speech which breathed all his wonted ardour, and fire of patriotism. Notwithstanding his exertions, he was as ill as possible; and, as Lord Charlemont often mentioned, if ever spirit could be said to act independent of body, it was on that occasion.

He stated the three great causes of complaint on the part of Ireland; the declaratory statute of George the first, the perpetual mutiny bill, and the unconstitutional powers of the Irish Privy Council. The repeal of the two statutes, and the abolition of the most improper sway of the council, were, he said, the terms on which he would support goverment. The address to his Majesty, stating the grievances of Ireland, and the declaration of right, were then moved by him, in answer to the King's message to Parliament. The sense of the House appeared so unequivocal in favour of the address, that if administration had any intention, at the opening of the debate, to oppose it, and the annexed resolutions, all such opposition was now relinquished. Colonel Fitzpatrick acted with his usual good sense, and the address passed unanimously. In fact, had government shewed itself any way hostile to the address, it must have been left in a minority, as several of the old court had now pledged themselves to a support of Mr. Grattan in this instance; and many of that body would have joined him, not from the slightest regard to a declaration of right, or its movers, but from hatred to the administration, which they would have most gladly embarrassed, and indeed overthrown, if in their power. The British Ministers acted with candour and magnanimity. The remedy to our political grievances was given precisely in that mode which we had ourselves prescribed. Mr. Fox moved the repeal of the obnoxious statute of George the first, in the House of Commons. "Never did a British Minister," said Mr. Grattan, "support such honourable claims with such constitutional arguments." Lord Shelburne moved a similar resolution, and with great ability, in the House of Lords. The repeal was immediately adopted.—The joy of the nation was unbounded. Twenty thousand seamen were voted for his Majesty's navy; and the volunteers cheerfully engaged to contribute their aid towards raising them. Fifty thousand pounds were unanimously voted to Mr. Grattan, and a day of general thanksgiving was appointed, to return thanks to Almighty God for that union, harmony, and cordial affection, which had been happily brought about between the two kingdoms.—But the brightness of our political days did not long continue. The clouds began to gather. It is necessary here to go a short way back. Two or three gentlemen, at the head of whom was Mr. Flood, who, before the address was moved, had been not only asked, but solicited to give their opinion as to any omission, or addition if necessary, and

then made no objection, now declared, that nothing was done, and that any measure, short of an entire renunciation on the part of England to bind this country by English laws, would be invalid and inefficient. The House of Commons, however, notwithstanding Mr. Flood's able arguments, thought otherwise, and were, almost unanimously, content with the repeal. So seemed the people to be in general, and numerous bodies of volunteers, most of Ulster particularly, declared themselves of a similar opinion. Legal security was strongly urged by the discontented; but the idea of one kingdom binding another, as by bond and warrant, was laughed at; and it was urged that, if England, after formally repealing a statute, which solemnly declared her right to make laws for this country, determined to resume that right, a renunciation would stand as little in the way of such perfidious hostility, as any other declaration whatever. If the faith of kindred nations was not to be relied on, what else was to be resorted to? Open war could alone terminate such conflicting pretensions. Nor could Ireland expect that England would so far prostrate itself, as in a subdued and grovelling tone to declare itself an usurper. Redress between individuals was never considered as less effectually obtained, because obtained in a gentlemanlike manner, and without urging too far that just pride, the concomitant of all honourable minds, which, when so urged, may very naturally, but very fatally, spurn at all concession, or compromise whatever. "The nation," to make use of Mr. Grattan's words, "that insists on the humiliation of another, is a foolish nation." Dissatisfaction was nevertheless gaining ground, nor were any arts wanting to disseminate it. On the 31st of July, the Volunteers at Belfast declared, by a majority of two voices, that "the nation should *not* be satisfied with what had been done."

There are moments in the history of nations when the most active talents will be outstripped by what is familiarly called wrong-headedness, in the race of mischief. A nobleman, Lord Abingdon, whose character was little known in Ireland, candid and honest certainly, but of a peculiar frame of mind, thought proper to introduce a bill, precisely at this time, asserting the right of Great Britain to legislate externally for Ireland. His position was, as expressly stated in the words of the bill, "that the Kings of England having been acknowledged sovereigns of the English seas for eighteen centuries, and the Western sea, in which Ireland is included, being part of the maritime power

of the kings of England; the British Parliament had the sole right to make laws to regulate the external commerce of Great Britain, and all such kingdoms as are under its sovereignty." Another clause of the bill then states, "That Queen Elizabeth having formerly forbad the King of France to build more ships than he *then* had, without her leave first obtained; it is enacted, that no kingdom as above stated, Ireland as well as others, should presume to build a navy, or any ships of war, without leave from the Lord High Admiral of England." Such was this bill; full, undoubtedly, of those prejudices which, as Addison says, naturally cleave to the heart of a true-born Englishman, and not altogether unlike some resolutions which I have read of a parliamentary committee of very honest Whigs in King William's time; the first of which was, "that the Parliament of England was the wonder of the world." At any other time it would have excited little attention, unless from its singularity; but, running rapidly as it did, against the fond and justly-cherished opinions of many who were as precipitant as its mover, the collision was formidable, and resounded from one end of the island to the other. Such was its potency, as not only to infuse strange doubts into the minds of numbers of the volunteer army, but "so horribly to shake the disposition" of various corps, that it frightened them from proceeding any further in their laudable exertions to procure men for the British navy. Among others, a respectable corps in Dublin, which was under Lord Charlemont's immediate command, entered into very warm resolutions against enrolling any seamen, and sent the resolutions to his Lordship, (he was then in the north,) accompanied by a letter of great civility and kindness. Lord Charlemont answered it directly, and preserved a copy of that and another letter, merely, as he said, "with a view of shewing the difficulties he sometimes met in conducting the volunteers, and the toilsome means he was compelled to pursue, in regulating the sallies of a set of men, brave and honest, but, as must naturally be expected, rash and violent; whose virtuous zeal, easily inflamed by the machinations of the designing, it was often necessary to repress, though by no means to suppress." This was also to be done without endangering that good opinion, on which alone were founded his hopes of being able to serve his country, by securing its tranquillity. These letters he selected from among many which he was forced to write upon various occasions. The following was addressed to the secretary of the corps above-mentioned.

Sir,

However I may disapprove of the resolutions which you sent me inclosed, I cannot but thank the gentlemen of the corps for their kind conduct with regard to me; and you for the politeness of your letter. Your wish to apply to me for my approbation, was all the compliment I had any right to expect, and, in my unlucky absence, an application to your Lieutenant Colonel, was right and proper. It happens however unfortunately that, in this instance, my sentiments and those of Colonel Flood, which have usually been similar, essentially differ, and I trust that, had I been in town, I should have been able to have urged such arguments as would have prevented a proceeding, which, coming from a corps that I have the honour to command, has, I confess, given me much uneasiness. In the perpetual hurry of my present occupations, it is impossible for me to detail upon paper the many reasons which, in my opinion, ought to have induced you at least to suspend your resolution; I shall therefore content myself for the present with saying, that this country would indeed be in a condition miserably precarious and humiliating, if every rash expression which may fall from any imprudent individual, should be able to change our sentiments, shake our determinations, and, by exciting our jealousies, to disturb the national confidence and tranquillity. Is it reasonable to expect, or possible to suppose, that the whole people of Great Britain should, in any sentiment whatever, be perfectly unanimous; or that, in a populous nation, there should not arise some unreasonable individuals who will give vent to their passions, and make use of their privilege of speaking, to declare their crude ideas in contradiction to the generally received opinions and resolves? And shall we suffer ourselves to be agitated by their wild suggestions? Shall a people, such as we have shown ourselves, forfeit our character of steadiness, and veer at the slight impulse of every breath of discontent? But it will be said, that the speech of Lord Abingdon ought to be replied to, and so it was in the most proper and explicit manner. As no motion whatsoever was made, no debate could arise, but the Chancellor asked Lord Abingdon if he intended to make any motion? For that if he did, such motion would be opposed. In consequence of this, Lord Abingdon pocketed his bill, and it does not even lie upon the table. Such is the transaction which has given you so much disquiet! Such is the transaction which has agitated the minds of men, upon whom a

great nation relies for support. Such is the transaction which has induced you to disclaim proceeding in a service to which the nation is pledged both by honour and interest. A service, essentially necessary to yourselves, as the only intent of the present levy is, to man the Channel Fleet for the defence of your own coast, as well as that of Great Britain, and to enable us to cope with our inveterate enemies in those seas, where their decided superiority must necessarily end in invasion. But I did not mean to say so much, and have not now leisure to write more. Indeed, even what I have written has been injured by frequent interruptions. I shall only add, that from my heart I disclaim with you all distinction between external and internal legislation, and shall at all times equally oppose, by every possible means, every attempt which may be made to legislate for us, either externally or internally. But I will not madly suppose any such attempt, and till it shall be made, which I trust will never be the case, I will remain in perfect tranquillity, do my utmost to promote the security and welfare, both of Ireland and the empire at large, strengthen this country and her constitution with all my efforts, and quietly rest upon my arms.

From what I have now said, you will readily conceive how uneasy your resolution has made me, and how happy I should be, that a service which I am here endeavouring to forward should equally succeed every where, and more especially in a corps, which I have the honour of peculiarly calling my own; the credit of which is, in my opinion, in this instance, essentially concerned, and which I am bound to love by every motive of gratitude and esteem.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

CHARLEMONT.

Lord Charlemont frequently said, that this corps, though highly respectable, was peculiarly open to the suggestions of busy agitators, and for some time gave him far more trouble, and tormented him more, in consequence of those agitators, than any other corps in the city of Dublin. "In truth," his Lordship used to add, "I may say, that the whole volunteer army could not be put in competition with them in this respect. However, such was their indulgent opinion of me, and such the influence which that opinion gave me over them, that they gradually became as ductile, and free from all rash resolves, as I could possibly wish."

The second letter alluded to, a copy of which was taken by Lord Charlemont, is here partly given. His Lordship's correspondent was a very respectable gentleman in the north. After briefly stating the usual arguments which induced him to support the measure of a simple repeal of the act of George the First, the noble writer proceeds: "For my own particular, I confess myself convinced, and the more so when I reflect, that the contrary doctrine has *generally* been preached by those who wish to spread through the kingdom their own private discontents. I say, *generally*, for as to Flood, he is my friend, and though I cannot approve his present conduct, I would not wish to insinuate any thing to his prejudice. *This* I know, that, under the sanction of his authority, numbers have enlisted themselves who wish to undermine the present administration, merely because it has set out on a system of governing without corruption; who declare such a plan imaginary and Utopian, and who, having at all times uniformly withstood the just wishes of the people, are now desirous, for their own ends, to inspire them with causeless jealousies, who, having passed their whole parliamentary lives in the pay and service of the court, now take upon them the very new character of flaming patriots, in order to force administration back into the old trade of corruption, by which means they may be gainers; favourers of the late ministry, and of their principles, they wish to make the country so uneasy, as that the present men may be compelled either to have recourse to those measures, under which this kingdom has so long groaned, or to retire; enemies to retrenchment, which is now thought to be the favourite plan, they wish to render any such measure impossible, by shewing government that they must *purchase*, and consequently keep entire, the fund of corruption. Some few there may possibly be, who act from mistaken principle, but of this I am sure, that by far the greater number answer exactly to the description I have now given. Such are my opinions on the present important crisis, yet am I not however arrogant enough to hope that they should have more weight than must naturally be allowed to the sentiments of a man who has ever been warm in his country's cause, and who is unprejudiced and uninfluenced.—Office I have disclaimed, and as for honours, my kind and partial country has heaped upon me greater and more substantial than any monarch on earth could bestow. But it may be said that they are not hereditary. I answer they are. My son, and my son's son will enjoy their consequences, and I trust, that as the corruption

by which many honours are obtained, descends from generation to generation, so may those principles by which, through the goodness of my countrymen, mine have been gained, be entailed upon my family, the best and most precious of all inheritances. Farewell;—my affectionate compliments to all friends, and particularly to C--ford.

I remain, my dear Sir,
Your most faithful, and obliged humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

Whatever relaxation there was in the efforts of some of the volunteer corps to continue the recruiting service for the navy, there was none on the part of Lord Charlemont. Under his auspices numbers of the Ulster army, which at this time elected him commander in chief of all the forces in the north, were peculiarly active in the same laudable work. A most respectable meeting was held in the city of Dublin, at the Tholsel, when Lord Charlemont was called to the chair, and requested to write to the different sheriffs in every part of Ireland, strongly recommending this great national service. He did so, and from all quarters received the most cordial and satisfactory answers. Soon after the repeal of the statute of George the First, so often mentioned during this period of Irish history, had received the royal assent, Lord Charlemont wrote to his friend, the Marquis of Rockingham. The letter strongly marks his feelings at the completion of this wise and necessary measure. It produced a temporary correspondence between him, Lord Rockingham, and Mr. Burke.

MY DEAREST LORD,

In this season of national joy, this scene of universal congratulation, is it possible that I should be silent? It would be improper, and, thank Heaven, my feelings render it impossible also. I, who in addition to the public cause, at which every Irishman rejoices, feel in my private capacity every tender motive of heart-felt satisfaction. Who have not only to exult in the liberty of my country, but have also the delight of knowing that the man who has long been dear to my heart, has had so large a share in promoting the restoration of that liberty. Suffer me then, my ever dear Lord, to join felicitations to my

acknowledgments, and to congratulate you upon the situation in which you now stand; a situation which, to one who feels like you, must be happy beyond expression, conscious, as you must be, that you have been a principal cause of the felicity of a whole nation, and that principally through your means the union of the empire is secured by the bonds of mutual freedom and consequent affection. Permit me also, on a more private score, to thank you for having reconciled my duty to my inclination, by enabling me to devote my endeavours to the support of an administration, any opposition to which would have made me miserable, and which, from the earnest already given us, there is every reason to be confident will claim, as their due, the hearty support of every sincere lover of his country.

The last letter which I had the honour of writing to your Lordship, contained a faithful statement of the situation of this kingdom, and my ardent solicitations in its behalf. All that I could desire has been perfectly complied with, and consequently, this should be a letter purely of acknowledgment, for I cannot avoid indulging my vanity, however perhaps ill founded, so far as to suppose that even the opinion of a simple individual, upon whose fidelity you could depend, might possibly have had some little weight with you. Impressed by this imagination, however vain and idle it may be, how can I express the acknowledgments of my heart. But the attempt would be fruitless, and my vain endeavours would detain you too long. I shall therefore hasten to conclude, by assuring you, of what I trust you do not doubt, that,

I have the honour to be, my dearest Lord, &c.

CHARLEMONT.

P. S. Allow me to request that you would present my most affectionate compliments to my old friend Burke.

DEAR LORD CHARLEMONT,

The state of my health continues but moderate. The influenza attacking me, while I was only recovering from old complaints, rendered me little capable of much active labour, and yet sometimes I contrive to get through a good deal of business, though in some matters I must run in arrear. I thank your Lordship for your last kind and cordial letter. I rejoice that your Lordship is pleased and satisfied with our conduct as ministers, and be assured, my dear Lord,

that those persons whom formerly you honoured with your friendship, as individuals, (because you approved their principles,) will continue to act towards Ireland, and towards promoting the general good of the empire, with the same zeal, and liberal ideas, which have hitherto characterized their conduct. These are matters which may want adjustment in the new state in which England and Ireland now stand. I heartily wish that no time was lost on either side in accelerating the adjustment of any such matters which might hereafter cause any disputes or misunderstandings, and this happy moment of friendship and cordiality, and confidence, between the countries, was made use of, to form and arrange plans of mutual and preciprocal support. Nothing was ever better timed than the kind offer made by Ireland of furnishing 20,000 men for the service of the fleet. Lord Keppel has sent one of the best, and most alert men in the navy to superintend, and to receive the men, which the zeal of Ireland will furnish. Captain Mac Bride has no occasion for my panegyric, but in writing to a friend like your Lordship, it is natural for me to say something in behalf of one I have a great regard for, and who probably, in this business, may have frequent intercourse with your lordship.—Lord Keppel assures me, that if he had a supply of seamen, he could add, in three weeks, not less than 14 ships of the line to the fleet which Lord Howe will command. It will indeed, at present, be but a very scanty fleet with which Lord Howe will proceed to sea. I verily believe, if France and Spain are alert, their fleet may be more than double the number of our's. But could we be enabled to send the ten, or fourteen additional ships, along with, or soon to join Lord Howe, I should have the utmost reliance that the ability, and conduct of Lord Howe, would afford us the most pleasing prospect of success, even though the enemies fleet might still be superior to our's in actual number of line of battle ships. Nothing but the friendly efforts of Ireland can rapidly furnish men for these ships.

I take the opportunity of writing to your lordship by the messenger whom I send to the Duke of Portland, to convey to his Grace, in a safe and expeditious manner, his majesty's gracious confirmation, and approbation, of the resolution of the House of Commons of Ireland, in granting £50,000 to be laid out in the purchase of lands for Mr. Grattan. As soon as I received at the treasury, the communication from the Duke of Portland, I directed the warrant to be prepared, and took the earliest opportunity of laying it before his majesty for

his signature. The proceedings in Ireland are upon a large and liberal scale, and though economy may be a necessary virtue in a state, yet, in rewarding greatpublic merit, narrow ideas on that subject are not good policy.—I have many compliments to make to your Lordship from Lady Rockingham. She is happy that so much good humour is likely now to subsist between England and Ireland, and the more so, as she thinks that national and private friendship going hand in hand, must be pleasing to your lordship, as well as to myself.

I have the honour to be,

My dear Lord, &c. &c.

ROCKINGHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Monday, June 17, 1782.

Lord Charlemont was much affected at receiving this kind letter. The Marquis was so ill, when he wrote it, that he could scarcely attend to any business. The answer was as follows.

MY DEAREST LORD,

The satisfaction which your letters always afford me has been, in this last instance, not a little allayed by the accounts you give me of the present weak state of your health, a point in which, at all times, my affection for you must highly interest me, but in which I am now more peculiarly concerned, not only as a friend, but as a lover of my country. Yet am I encouraged to hope the best, when I reflect that Providence, which seems now at length to have interposed in behalf of this declining Empire, will restore the health, and protect that life, with which its safety and prosperity are so intimately connected.

Your lordship will have heard, from the Duke of Portland, the result of the great meeting at Dungannon. All has gone well, in spite of the amazing activity of those who wish to propagate through the nation their own discontents. The address to the king has been sent over by delegates from the meeting. Upon this matter I have had a long conference with the Lord Lieutenant, and his grace has, I believe, written to your lordship—He mentioned to me, that though etiquette must preclude his majesty from giving an answer to the address, your lordship would probably invite the gentlemen to dinner on the day of the delivery, and take an opportunity of giving them such an answer as might be satisfactory. This measure I take the liberty humbly to recommend to your lordship as salutary and necessary.

The important business of the seamen will, I trust, succeed to our wishes. No efforts of mine have been wanting, and you may be assured I shall continue my exertions. Nothing can possibly impede the service, but this unlucky discontent, which some have endeavoured to spread abroad, respecting the repeal of the sixth of George the first, being unaccompanied by any renunciation clause, or preamble.

Your lordship however will have seen the resolution of Dungannon respecting the seamen. With 20,000 men thus pledged to assist in recruiting, I think we cannot fail, even though the ardour of some among them may be slackened by the cause above mentioned; a cause which I have endeavoured, and shall labour by every means in my power, to remove, even though my popularity were to be hazarded by such attempt. For, however dearly I may hold the love of the people, if a constant perseverance in the service of my country cannot retain it, I should account it neither honourable nor satisfactory. The paragraph in your lordship's letter, where you mention, that, in the new state in which England and Ireland now stand, there are matters which may want adjustment, I do not entirely comprehend. That all future disputes, or misunderstandings, should be obviated, is undoubtedly a principle of which no man can disapprove; but till your lordship shall be pleased particularly to specify the means, by which this great object may be attained, it is impossible for me to form any judgment, or to give any opinion. I am extremely obliged to your lordship for your kind alacrity in carrying into execution the vote of the House of Commons in behalf of my friend Grattan. No man has ever merited more from his country than he has done; and his present conduct, in labouring with me to check the ill effects, which, without our united efforts, might have been produced by the exertions of the discontented, is, in my opinion, a continuation of his merits. Lady Charlemont desires her sincerest good wishes, and compliments to your lordship, and joins with me in best respects to Lady Rockingham. Be so good as to assure her ladyship, on my behalf, that if, in the present instance, national, and private friendships go hand in hand, as I trust they will, such amity must be sincere indeed, perfect, and perpetual.

I have the honour to be, my dearest Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

Most truly affectionate, and obedient servant,

CHARLEMONT.

Dublin, June 1782.

The delegates, alluded to in the above letter, waited on his Majesty with a very dutiful, and proper address, expressive of the loyalty, gratitude, and satisfaction, of the Ulster volunteers. But it is impossible to read the following elucidatory note of Lord Charlemont's, which is annexed to his letter, without being almost equally disgusted with the persons who laboured so successfully in the cause of discontent and sedition, and those who with such stupid alacrity became their willing dupes. " Before the arrival of the volunteers embassy, Lord Rockingham was seized with that disorder which, in the end, proved so fatal to him, to me, and the empire. My letter had however the desired effect, the delegates having been received, and treated by his Majesty's ministers with every mark of attention; in consequence of which they returned home perfectly well satisfied, and helped in some degree to assuage their growing discontents. Yet, so successful had the efforts been of those who wished to inflame, that even those popular messengers were on their return unpopular, and were treated with disesteem by the more violent of the party."

The paragraph in Lord Rockingham's letter, touching some adjustment as necessary between England and Ireland in their novel situation, Lord Charlemont considered as probably alluding to some arrangement relative to commerce. It certainly created some degree of uneasiness in his mind. But whatever was intended, nothing appears to have been done. At least, nothing to which Lord Charlemont was, in any respect, a party. Mr. Burke's letter to to him was as follows:

My Dear Lord,

The slight mark of your Lordship's remembrance of an old friend, in the end of your Lordship's letter to Lord Rockingham, gave me very great satisfaction. It was always an object of my ambition to stand well with you. I ever esteemed and admired your public and private virtues, which have at length produced all the effects which virtue can produce on this side of the grave, in the universal love of your countrymen. I assure you, my Lord, that I take a sincere part in the general joy, and hope that mutual affection will do more for mutual help, and mutual advantage, between the two kingdoms, than any ties of artificial connexion whatsoever. If I were not persuaded of this, my satisfaction at the late events would not be so complete as it is. For, born as I

was in Ireland, and having received what is equal to the origin of one's being, the improvement of it there, and therefore full of love, and I might say, of fond partiality for Ireland, I should think any benefit to her, which should be bought with the real disadvantage of this kingdom, or which might tend to loosen the ties of connection between them, would be, even to our native country, a blessing of a very equivocal kind. But I am convinced, that no reluctant tie can be a strong one, and that a natural, cheerful alliance will be a far securer link of connexion than any principle of subordination borne with grudgings and discontent. All these contrivances are for the happiness of those they concern, and if they do not effect this, they do nothing, or worse than nothing. Go on, and prosper; improve the liberty you have obtained by your virtue, as a means of national prosperity, and internal as well as external union. I find, that Ireland, among other marks of her just gratitude to Mr. Grattan, (on which your Lordship will present him my congratulations,) intends to erect a monument to his honour, which is to be decorated with sculpture. It will be a pleasure to you to know, that at this time, a young man of Ireland is here, who, I really think, as far as my judgment goes, is fully equal to our best statuaries, both in taste and execution. If you employ him, you will encourage the rising arts in the decoration of the rising virtue of Ireland; and though the former, in the scale of things, is infinitely below the latter, there is a kind of relationship between them. I am sure there has been ever a close connection between them in your mind. The young man's name, who wishes to be employed, is Hickey.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest sentiments of regard and esteem, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Whitehall, June 12th, 1782.

The monument which Mr. Burke mentions was never erected. Popular discontent, popular inconstancy, and the machinations of ill-doers, forbad it. On the first of July following, the Marquis of Rockingham died, and his death was followed by a complete division of the cabinet. The labour, perseverance, and union of years, were, by the extinction of one illustrious and good man, rendered inefficient. The affliction of Lord Charlemont may be well conceived.

" Of this virtuous, accomplished, and truly amiable man," (thus his Lordship speaks of his departed friend,) " whatever friendship might inspire me to say, would fall far below, not only my own feelings, but the love, gratitude, and respect of every good citizen, of every good man throughout the British dominions.

" Cui pudor, et justitiæ soror,
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem ?"

I shall have occasion hereafter to mention Lord Rockingham. He must be lamented by all who wish well to the tranquillity and welfare of their country, for, from the hour of his death may be dated that fatal disunion between some of our eminent men, especially Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, which, however they differed essentially and widely as to some political questions, was extended and kept alive by every art of low cunning, ministerial intrigue, and the bad passions of inferior men, labouring merely for their own despicable aggrandizement or emolument. It has been productive of much national calamity.

In the general contemplation of politics there is surely something extremely disgusting. When we know, and perfectly understand, the motives of many who act in a higher political sphere, every honest feeling shrinks back from the ingratitude, perfidy, and inordinate selfishness, which so often crowd on our attention. Yet, the person who is the object of the greatest popular odium, the Minister himself, is frequently not at all tinctured by any one of those bad qualities; certainly infinitely less so in general, than the humblest of his followers. Don Quixote and Sancho form no imperfect representation of such a personage, and some of his adherents. The latter acting solely from the impulse of vulgar and sordid minds, suggest only such expedients as, whatever may be their utility, or the contrary, will invariably comprehend and benefit themselves. But the whole is varnished over with the adroitness of slaves, which a noble and exalted nature is incapable of attending to, or exactly perceiving the drift of, even if it did. Perhaps it will be found, that the largest share of that unpopularity which so often attends ministers, arises from the mischievous activity, or inconsiderately-adopted suggestions of subordinate, or unsuspected instruments. The people exclaim, and are discontented. With

great reason often. But when to please them the Minister retires, or their own dominion blazes forth, in the success of their most favoured measures, how do they act themselves? Not always indeed, but surely too, too often, with such boisterous caprice, imperious levity, and vehement ingratitude, that, not merely those, whose feelings are quicker than their discrimination, but persons of very unclouded intellect, almost half wish even for the most unpopular Minister's resumption of power. A Minister is frequently imposed on, but the people are much oftener so, when it suits the purposes of unprincipled, able men, to practice on their credulity. I speak of the multitude. Altogether, on whatever side we turn our eyes, politics never did yet, and perhaps of all human pursuits, never will afford any permanent, unmixed satisfaction to any rational being. But this reflection will not justify inertness, or indifference to the service of our country. The contemplation of the unworthiness of others should not force us to a dereliction of our best duties. In all ages it has forced too many.

The conduct of numbers of my countrymen, amiable and excellent as they generally are, was at this time utterly unjustifiable. A mere difference of opinion, on a point inconsequential, and even now almost forgotten, made them regard their best friends almost as monsters. All Grattan's services were thrown into oblivion. The Favourite of the 16th of April, became in little more than two months, indeed, long before "their shoes were old," in following him with loud acclamations, one of the most unpopular men in the kingdom. The man of firm temper may laugh at all this, but it cannot render solitude, or total absence from the political world, less supportable, to reflect, that the persons who contributed most to this frenzy, were the very men who, for year after year, swelled every unpropitious vote against Ireland; and whose doors, barricadoed as if against the plague, could scarcely afford them security, against the hatred, and almost legitimate fury of the people, who now applauded all that they said, and all that they did. Such are the extremes in a free state; extremes, to which liberty is nearly allied. By those who are better courtiers than public men, the consanguinity may be denied; but it does not less exist. It will be acknowledged by every candid, reflecting mind, and, on the whole, God forbid that, because we are sometimes fools, we should be always slaves.

If the following letter from Lord Charlemont to his friend, Dr. Haliday,

justly condemns the sinister zeal of some, and vile levity of others, it places the conduct of him, who was now the object of so much calumny, in a very favourable point of view.

Dublin, August 11th, 1782.

"—— Respecting the grant, I know with certainty that Grattan, though he felt himself flattered by the *intention*, looked upon the act with the deepest concern, and did all in his power to deprecate it. As it was found impossible to defeat the design, all his friends, and I among others, were employed to lessen the sum. It was accordingly decreased by one half, and that principally by his positive declaration through us, that, if the whole were insisted on, he would refuse all, but a few hundreds, which he would retain as an honourable mark of the goodness of his country. By some, who look only into themselves for information concerning human nature, this conduct will probably be construed into hypocrisy. To such, the excellence and pre-eminency of virtue, and the character of Grattan, are as invisible and incomprehensible, as the brightness of the sun to a man born blind.—I forgot to mention, in regard to the second scandalous aspersion, that Fitzpatrick never in any way, either express or implied, threw out any such threat as that which has been forged for him. Such an idea, I am confident, never occurred to him; and, if it had, he has too much sense to have hazarded it, as the consequence must have been fatal to his administration. Indeed, these instances of ingratitude shock me not a little: That a man who has given up his whole life to the service of his country, nay, has imminently hazarded that life, by his activity in the cause; whose endeavours have been crowned with success, to whom principally we owe the blessing of liberty: That such a man should be maliciously defamed, and the scandal believed by many, is a baseness of ingratitude that surpasses all comprehension. Happy it is, that virtue in herself is a blessing, and that a good conscience is the greatest of all pleasures, as the contrary is a curse, and a punishment, more excruciating than any tyrant ever could invent. The former of these will, at all events, be my friend's reward; and the latter, if they be not callous, will well avenge him of all his enemies. For my own part, I have as yet been spared; but, let what will happen, nothing shall make me

deviate from the path I have hitherto pursued. Detraction may possibly injure my reputation, though, even there I think I may defy it; but it never shall take from me that first of all blessings, the consciousness that I am acting right, and to the utmost of my abilities exerting myself in the service of my country. This may look like vanity, but a proper pride in some cases is a necessary, and even a virtuous quality."—The same subject is pursued in another letter to Haliday, written in some days after the preceding one.

Marino, August 17th, 1782.

"—— I have had a letter from our friend Harry,* dated Shrewsbury. He was then getting better, and writes in tolerable spirits. I am heartily glad that he is safe out of this pestilential atmosphere, and am certain, that the change of air, and of scene, will do him more good even than the waters of Spa. To a delicate mind, popular ingratitude must be grating indeed. But what people were more apt to be ungrateful than the renowned Athenians? Why then should I not flatter myself that, together with this bad quality of theirs, we may also have obtained some of their good ones,—their spirit of freedom, as well as their spirit of discontent? If we have gotten their levity, may it not be a certain symptom, that we are in full possession of their liberty also? You see that I am inclined to be in good humour with the world; a certain sign, that tranquillity, and the shades of Marino agree with me. Why, my dearest Doctor, may I not hope some time or other to shew this, my favourite retreat, to you and Mrs. Haliday?"

The ministry had been now almost totally changed as to its principal members. Lord Shelburne was at the head of the Treasury, and the Duke of Portland, though he had resigned the Lieutenancy of Ireland, continued here, chiefly, I believe, from the effects of a fall from his horse, till the middle of September. It should be mentioned, that the Catholic bill, which had been introduced, and almost passed in Lord Carlisle's time, received the royal assent, when his Grace of Portland closed the session. It granted to the Catholics still further immunities. For this bill Lord Charlemont voted.

Towards the end of this summer a most singular military scheme took place in Ireland; a scheme, at any other period, and before the militia was established, not

* Henry Grattan. He had then set out on his journey to Spa.

ineligible; and no mean substitute for such troops as the country might, at particular junctures, be deprived of. In consequence of the war, and a recent vote of the House of Commons, which had been followed by an Act of Parliament, five thousand men were granted for service abroad. The military establishment, as fixed in Lord Townshend's Viceroyalty, consisted of twelve thousand men; but, as four thousand were voted for a prosecution of hostilities not long after their commencement, there now remained but three thousand for the entire defence of the kingdom. Altogether, there were not, allowing for the deficiences of regiments, and common casualties, regulars sufficient to do garrison duty. This the authors of the scheme, positively, and perhaps very justly, asserted. It was proposed to raise four provincial regiments, of one thousand men each, for three years, or for the war; to be officered by Irish gentlemen, who were to receive rank according to the number of men that they raised, and not to be sent out of Ireland. This scheme was submitted to Lord Charlemont's consideration, and it was suggested at the same time, that he might command the whole, or part of it, as he pleased, with the rank of Major-General. They were to be called Fencibles. To the command of this body of men, Lord Charlemont gave, in the first instance, a decided negative; and at a subsequent interview with the Lord Lieutenant, stated some of his objections to the entire plan: That, from his peculiar situation, he well knew, that nothing would be more unpopular; if however, on repeated consideration, it appeared eligible, the mere unpopularity of the measure should not sway him, or any honest man. The Volunteers would undoubtedly regard it, not as an oblique, but very direct effort, to undermine them: And considering their alacrity and eagerness, to meet the common foe, why not call on them again, if it was necessary? That, if from such an army, some danger was apprehended, that danger would not be diminished by depriving them of officers of experience and moderation, who had acquired an undoubted influence over them, and by that influence controlled many occasional irregularities. Who would then command them? Assuredly they would not disband themselves; and the most unprincipled, dangerous men in the kingdom might, in an evil hour, become their leaders. That if young officers were to be taken from the volunteer army, neither they nor the men could be of much use, as, in all probability, the war would be over before either soldier or subaltern were disciplined. For any

present purpose, therefore, they would be inefficient, and any distant purpose could hardly be brought into contemplation. Lord Charlemont added, that he imagined his predictions respecting the almost general odium attendant on the plan, would be found not the less true, because the Lord Lieutenant might have many applications for commissions; he would, undoubtedly have many, and when rank and money were to be had, he knew not that country, especially one circumstanced as Ireland was, where similar applications would not be abundant. Such were, in part, Lord Charlemont's objections; but it seems they were not regarded as of sufficient weight to occasion an immediate extinction of the plan, for, whilst reviewing the southern army at Cork, he heard that it had been carried into execution, and all the officers taken from the Volunteers. That body became outrageous, and the people sympathizing with them, the general indignation overflowed all bounds.

This took place in the summer of 1782, as I have stated, but so fixed was the popular abhorrence of the Fencible scheme, that on the dissolution of parliament, in the ensuing year, some members lost their seats, in consequence of accepting fencible commissions. A circumstance occurred, which it is the duty of an historian to mention. When Lord Charlemont again waited on the Lord Lieutenant, he lamented that he was so good a prophet, for the Fencibles had created more disturbance than he had even ventured to foretell; but begged leave, at the same time, to ask the Duke, if his prediction was not equally outstripped in the number of applications which had been received? "Certainly," replied his Grace; "I have had, at the least, a hundred and fifty applications; and some persons, whom I was obliged to refuse, have been the most outrageously abusive of the Fencibles, and decried the plan infinitely more than its original enemies. The Volunteers are all content and mildness compared to them." Many retired, well meaning people may perhaps imagine, that such conduct can scarcely be met with. But it is a faithful, not overcharged picture of popular impostors. Such base auxiliaries, however, were not necessary to overthrow the fencible scheme. The united efforts of volunteers, and the people; with a clearer prospect perhaps of returning peace, utterly demolished it. At all events, nothing could have reconciled the country to its adoption. Lord Charlemont acted the part of a dutiful citizen throughout the whole of the business; honestly, and unaffectedly he advised government, and did not inflame the people

against it. Although he foresaw the consequences, and was not better received at the castle for stating them so explicitly as he did, at least he certainly thought so, his respect for the Duke continued undiminished. He applauded his general conduct, his courteous deportment, (so particularly necessary in a Lord Lieutenant,) and was to the utmost gratified by his behaviour towards the Volunteers. As Lord Charlemont said, he made them fashionable at court. This, his Lordship considered as flowing from the Duke's natural disposition, unassailed, in the more early part of his administration, by any fencible plans. When the volunteers were reviewed by Lord Charlemont in the Phœnix park, the Duke was present ; and, on being thanked by the noble general at the levee, for the honour his grace had done them, "Surely, my lord," he replied, "a body of men, formed on *such principles*, could not be so near me, without a desire on my part to see their exertions." This was spoken so audibly, that numbers heard it, and were captivated. The same attention prevailed every where. The late amiable, and much lamented General Burgoyne had, at that time, the command of the forces in Ireland. Whenever the king's troops, and the volunteer corps met, a mutual exchange of the usual military courtesies constantly took place between them. Lord Charlemont suggested, that both should be drawn out together, and pay the accustomed honours to the King's birth day, in conjunction. The suggestion was laudably, and generously complied with; and whoever remembers it, must acknowledge, that it appeared to be a day of the most unaffected, real gladness, that perhaps ever shone forth in Dublin. Why are not such moments laid hold on, and improved, as they ought to be? Every attention was paid by the military to Lord Charlemont, and, in all places, the reverence, and affection almost, of the soldiery, kept equal pace with their obedience to the commands of their superiors. On his road to Limerick, he passed through the town of Nenagh. There happened to be no volunteers in the place, and a party of the 18th light dragoons insisted on mounting a guard for him, whilst he staid the evening. Another party of the same regiment, with equal cheerfulness and politeness, escorted him for a short distance, that is, as far as he would permit them. Such are the benign effects of an administration, founded on the unmixed confidence of the people. Such the cordial good will, and pure freeheartedness, which at that moment reigned between the regulars and the Volunteers. No

rudeness, no jealousy, no umbrage, Distinctions are, too often, as invidiously as seduously kept up between the soldier and the citizen. Let them not be taught any other, than those which arise naturally from varied society, in the day of peace, and they themselves will make none in the day of battle. What has occasioned the downfall of many of the ancient monarchies of Europe? Not Gallic superiority surely! Too much reliance on one class of the community, which, however brave, could not alone sustain such monarchies, and, as the event proved, a morbid oblivion of their citizens and their peasantry. It is proper to state here, that Lord Charlemont totally declined the acceptance of any office, or emolument, though repeatedly solicited by the Duke of Portland to take both. Mr. Grattan, on his Grace's arrival, and before the grant of fifty thousand pounds was even suggested, displayed a similar disinteresredness.

The Earl Temple* assumed the government of Ireland, September, 1782. He had, before he was formally declared Lord Lieutenant in council, written a most polite, and, in every respect, satisfactory letter to Lord Charlemont, announcing his appointment, and soliciting that nobleman's support, during his administration in Ireland. Lord Charlemont's answer was, in part, as follows:

My Lord, (No Date.)

Permit me to return you my most sincere acknowledgments for the honour conferred on me, and the pleasure afforded me by your lordship's letter, which I should have long since answered, had not my receiving it been retarded by my being in the country, where I was busily occupied in reviewing the volunteer army. With your lordship, I most sincerely lament the resolution which the Duke of Portland has taken to resign the government of Ireland, in the administration of which high office he had, as you well observe, obtained the almost universal confidence of this nation, a confidence founded upon the surest basis, our perfect conviction of his public virtue, and our experience of his steady endeavours, essentially to serve the country he was deputed to govern. He is indeed a man in every respect fitted, worthy and usefully to fill the office which has been assigned to him. Your lordship will, I am sure, pardon me for dwelling a little on a topic, which is with me a favourite one, especially as his approaching loss renders him, if possible, still more dear. If any thing

* Now Marquis of Buckingham.

however could console us for such a loss, it would be the character of the noble person who is destined to succeed him; a consolation, which is greatly increased by the sentiments conveyed in your lordship's letter. With such a pledge of your sincerity, I cannot doubt, or fear; and shall only add, that as, notwithstanding my opinion of, and my good wishes for the Duke of Portland, his conduct was the only thing that insured to him my support; in the same manner, and on the same account only, will your lordship be certain to receive it. With every acknowledgment of your goodness towards me, and every good wish for the happiness of your future government,

I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c. &c.

CHARLEMONT.

The new Viceroy's letter to Lord Charlemont was fraught with the justest principles of government; and, as he expressed his desire to pursue a plan of reforming the expenditure, and correcting the abuses of the revenue of Ireland, he certainly did not deviate from it. His brother, now Lord Grenville, was his Secretary; and as the succeeding winter was the last, during which the Irish Parliament did not sit in those days, ample time was afforded to the Lord Lieutenant for a prosecution of those plans of retrenchment, and controul of that multiplied and grievous peculation in various offices, which he so laudably engaged in. Like his father, Mr. George Grenville, he took business as a pleasure he was to enjoy, and his "application was undissipated and unwearied."* Such assiduity was never before, and indeed I believe, never since witnessed at the Castle. Nor was he at this time more than thirty years of age. He was not awed either by situation or connexion. A gentleman of large fortune, allied to Lord Charlemont, and protected by a great Southern Parliamentary leader, was dismissed from his office. He was found deficient in a very large sum, and his Majesty's attorney was ordered to sue him, on behalf of the public. Lord Shannon's patronage, though supported by more than half a dozen members of the House of Commons, was, for the first time, found inadequate. Never till then, had the old court known that seven-fold fence to fail, and dismal was the augury. The Viceroy was not inattentive to Lord Charlemont on this occasion. He stated the business to his lordship, and very civilly added, that he could not think of proceeding in it,

* See Mr. Burke's speeches on American taxation, and his character of Mr. Grenville.

without acquainting him. Lord Charlemont expressed much obligation, and, at the same time, entire approbation of the Lord Lieutenant's conduct. His Excellency was much gratified; he stated the egregious defalcations which had been brought to light in many offices, and, "be assured, my Lord," continued he, "there's not a board throughout Ireland which does not tremble at this instant." The dismay was terrible. Clerks, treasurers, and secretaries, fled in all quarters. Some chiefs of particular departments did not indeed fly, but menaced, or muttered eternal vengeance against Lord Temple; they shuddered to behold the ancient abodes of peculation on the point of being exposed to the eye of day, to mortals, and immortals, the Lower House, and the Upper; abodes, odious from corruption, and formidable even to some of its ennobled professors in a higher sphere, as almost vying with their own.

Οικία δὲ θνητοῖσι, Καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη
Σμερδαλέ', εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ!*

But Lord Temple went on, and it is justly to be lamented, that his speedy recall should put an end to all further exposition.—About this time his Majesty was pleased to create an order of Knighthood for Ireland, by the appellation of knights of St. Patrick. As this measure immediately followed the establishment of the independence of Ireland, it was extremely gratifying. The letter to Lord Charlemont from Earl Temple on this occasion, does so much honour to both, that every one, I think, will be pleased with its insertion.

My Lord,

His Majesty having been pleased to institute a new order of knighthood in Ireland, as a measure calculated to convey to his Irish subjects the sense he entertains of the present respectable situation of that kingdom, and the peculiar interest which he takes in whatever regards them, I have received his commands to prepare, for his approbation, a list of such names as may best promote his Majesty's intentions of placing this order upon the most respectable footing. And I am convinced, that I cannot better promote this gracious disposition, than by addressing myself to your Lordship, whose birth, rank, and property would well entitle you to every mark of distinction. But when I add to these

* Ilia. Lib. 20. v. 64.

considerations your public services, so justly distinguished, and of a nature which this kingdom must ever most gratefully remember, I cannot hesitate a moment in requesting your Lordship's permission to place your name upon the list, which I am preparing in pursuance of his Majesty's commands. And I mention this idea to your Lordship, with the greater satisfaction, as the motto of this order, (Quis separabit,) will tend to enforce that explained, constitutional, and solid union, between the two kingdoms, so necessary to both, and which your Lordship has so long laboured to establish upon the surest foundation,—that of mutual confidence and affection.

I have the honour to be, with great regard,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's very faithful, and obedient servant,
NUGENT TEMPLE.

Lord Charlemont, (and with much reason certainly,) was uncommonly pleased with this letter. He waited on the Lord Lieutenant, and with many expressions of thanks, accepted the honour that was so kindly and justly proposed to him. It cannot be denied, however, that at a former interview, before any circumstance whatever relative to the order was absolutely determined, or on the institution itself publicly announced, he seemed rather to decline it. Among other things which he stated to the Lord Lieutenant, he said, "that the measure seemed to him, and in his opinion really was, an honourable distinction to the kingdom, and might be considered as a badge and symbol of her independence, so newly created." The time also, most assuredly was, as had been mentioned by the Lord Lieutenant, peculiarly favourable; since, as such institutions usually took place in consequence of some signal success, the present period would be allowed, of all others, the most proper, as no events could possibly be more worthy of consideration, than those which had lately happened. But there was another point of view, in which it might be regarded; would it not tend, (in some measure at least,) to extend the influence of the crown so recently protested against? But to that objection, Lord Charlemont added, an answer might certainly be made, which, if it even occurred to the Lord Lieutenant, his politeness would of course prevent him from urging; namely, that as to the influence of the crown in the House of Lords, it could scarcely receive any addition, for what could make many, or most of his, Lord Charlemont's illustrious brethren, better courtiers than they were at that moment. He

expressed at the same time great respect for the Lord Lieutenant, and that respect made him hesitate, as to the propriety of any refusal of the order, for, as he added, what time could be more auspicious, or what Viceroy better entitled to general esteem? Much more passed, but it is unnecessary to state any thing further, as he accepted the order. In truth, there could be no genuine obstacle to his acceptance of such an honour, and he frequently acknowledged that Lord Temple acted through the whole of the business with equal urbanity and good sense.

Lord Charlemont had conceived it possible that, at that moment, when the general agitation of the public mind had not subsided, the people, by whose confidence he considered himself as alone useful, might, through some misconception or misrepresentation, construe this acceptance of the blue ribband of St. Patrick, into a dereliction of their interests; but they and the Volunteers, (in fact, at that time they were one,) exulted at his promotion, and universally declared, that they never could have pardoned a government, which, in such an institution, would have omitted him.

The following circular letter of Mr. Secretary Hamilton, is connected with the history of the order of St. Patrick, and that of Lord Charlemont at this particular juncture.

Dublin Castle, 4th Feb. 1783.

My Lord,

The Lord Lieutenant has commanded me to acquaint your Lordship, that he has received, with very particular satisfaction, a letter from the Right Honourable Mr. Townshend, conveying to his Excellency the King's entire approbation of your Lordship, and the other noblemen, whom he has recommended to his Majesty, to be created Knights of the Order of St. Patrick. His Excellency cannot give a more convincing proof of the high estimation in which the King holds the noble persons who are to be companions of this order, or of his Majesty's desire to gratify the wishes of his nobility of Ireland, than by acquainting your Lordship, that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to take the first stall to himself, and to nominate his Royal Highness Prince Edward to fill the second. His Majesty's letter for carrying the constitution of this order into execution is expected to arrive very shortly, and your Lordship will have the earliest notice of the day which shall be appointed for the investiture.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord, &c.

Sackville Hamilton.

The Installation was conducted with great magnificence. The Lord Lieutenant, with much propriety, ordered that the volunteers should line the streets in junction with the King's troops, and, by Lord Charlemont's particular desire, a station was assigned to them within, and about the Cathedral of St. Patrick, so that they particularly assisted at, and, to a certain degree, formed part of the ceremonial. This attention was very pleasing to them. Immense crowds attended the procession of the knights from the Castle to the cathedral, and Lord Charlemont, as he passed along, was received with applause and acclamation by all ranks of people.

The following extract of a letter from Mr. Horace Walpole, (Lord Orford,) though written somewhat more than two years after the institution of the order of St. Patrick, has its proper place at this period.

Strawberry-Hill, Nov. 23d, 1785.

As your Lordship has given me this opportunity, I cannot resist saying, what I was exceedingly tempted to mention two or three years ago, but had not the confidence. In short, my Lord, when the order of St. Patrick was instituted, I had a mind to hint to your Lordship, that it was exactly the moment for seizing an occasion that has been irretrievably lost to this country. When I was at Paris, I found in the convent of Les Grands Augustins, three vast chambers filled with the portraits (and their names and titles beneath,) of all the Knights of the St. Esprit, from the foundation of the order. Every new knight, with few exceptions, gives his own portrait on his creation. Of the order of St. Patrick, I think but one founder is dead yet, and his picture perhaps may be retrieved. I will not make any apology to so good a patriot as your Lordship, for proposing a plan that tends to the honour of his country, which I will presume to call mine too, as it is both by union and my affection for it. I should wish the name of the painter inscribed too, which would excite emulation in your artists.—But it is unnecessary to dilate on the subject to your Lordship, who, as a patron of the arts, as well as a patriot, will improve on my imperfect thoughts, and if you approve of them, can give them stability.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Hor. Walpole.

Lord Charlemont had, I believe, long before the receipt of Mr. Walpole's letter, entertained some ideas, not very dissimilar to those of that gentleman,

on this subject; and had Lord Temple continued in Ireland, would have submitted them to his consideration. But that nobleman's departure, and the short duration of any intimacy between his successor and Lord Charlemont, prevented his schemes from being carried into execution. It is to be wished, that he had urged the subject to the late Duke of Rutland, who loved and understood painting, and from his situation, as well as disposition, was most likely to patronize what was so properly suggested by Mr. Walpole. The fine arts suffer materially from politics, or a disunion in politics, between persons of exalted rank, who wish to cultivate literature, or whatever is connected with it. Their differences and political engagements occupy so much of their time, that the muses are almost excluded from their society. The only memorandum of Lord Charlemont, relative to this affair, is part of a short note or letter to Mr. Walpole, which has these words. "I should be glad to know whether the Knights of the St. Esprit are drawn in their robes of ceremony? The reason of my question is, that, if such dress were not necessary, as I doubt it is, a series of fashion, as well as of portraits, might be transmitted to posterity." Mr. Walpole's answer is as follows: "Mr. Walpole has received the honour of Lord Charlemont's letter, but is almost incapable of answering it, being laid up by a severe attack of the gout in his whole right arm and hand. The portraits of the Knights of the St. Esprit, at Paris, are only heads on Pannel, which touch one another. That of the Comte de Gramont, of which Mr. Walpole has a copy, is in armour. Perhaps the grand masters might be whole, or half lengths, in the dress of the order to shew the habit. Other knights in their own robes of Peers, or in the dress of the times: but it ought to be an inviolable rule, that no fantastic dresses should be allowed in a national and historic monument. Mr. Walpole is not able to say more at present."

Whether any thing further was done, I know not. It may not yet be altogether too late. To advert to the illustration which history may always derive from painting and sculpture is unnecessary. But when we consider that the portrait of a Comte de Gramont, who favoured Hamilton with an opportunity of writing the most singular, and certainly the most agreeable book that perhaps ever was read, could only be found in such a collection as has been mentioned, it is not idle to indulge a wish, that such historic assemblages of portraits should be made, whenever an occasion presents itself. Every age, and every class of mankind,

is more or less fertile in extraordinary personages; and we might surely compound with many a faithful, though most uninspiring resemblance of illustrious knights, or even a long line of decorated inanity, for the original picture of any man who adorned society, or whose refined and peculiar gaiety of conversation, like that of Gramont, has become the source of amusement, nay delight, to successive generations.

Something, I hope not much, remains to be said with regard to the proposed renunciation of the right of the British Legislature to make any law whatever to bind Ireland. The measure itself might well be passed over; but a few recorded circumstances relative to it, may tend to shew the history of the people and the times. With such circumstances Lord Charlemont also was much connected. He was perfectly satisfied with what had been done for securing the independency of Ireland; and although he thought that some short preamble, totally relinquishing all claims in future, should have preceded the repeal, he considered such an addition as of little importance, and rested secure that, after what had passed, nothing further would or could be attempted hostile to our rights. To solicit, or demand in any way, a solemn renunciation from the English Parliament, Lord Charlemont thought very unwise, and repeatedly declared, that he would not be accessary to such a step, as he was afraid that such solicitation might be construed into an acknowledgment of some previous right existing in the British Legislature, which he would never allow. On the other hand, discontent was advancing with giant strides, though, at the period which I am now arrived at, the country seemed to remain in an unquiet repose, from the expectation that Lord Temple would, in the true spirit of party, endeavour to procure a renunciatory act, merely to spite his opponents, and mortify the repealists. Such expectation, however, was a very weak one.

When Lord Temple first came here, he was of the same opinion with those who thought any renunciation unnecessary, and that Government would depart not less from its dignity than all true policy, if, after such a national settlement, that settlement should again, to a certain degree, be opened, and every new popular requisition acceded to. But Lord Charlemont, who had daily intelligence of what was passing in public, and clearly saw that the enemies to the tranquillity of Ireland would never abandon the 'vantage ground which

they had taken, till the point in dispute was conceded to them, thought, that to relinquish that point would be the best chance of dislodging all such perturbed spirits, and giving rest to the country; that a renunciation, unasked by the Parliament of Ireland, at the worst, was nugatory, and could not produce, at least, any bad effect. His old opinions remained the same, but he wished much to control evil doers, and at the same time meet the wishes of the people. In this mode of thinking, he was supported by the late Chief Baron Burgh. The Lord Lieutenant differed from them, and was supported by many and grave authorities. In such sentiments he continued, till a writ of error to the King's Bench in England, which had been transmitted there, previous to the new order of things, was received and acted upon by Lord Mansfield; who said, that he was obliged to adhere to the ancient usage of his court, and that he knew of no statute which abrogated that usage. This business, of mere accident, (for it was evident that no writ of error could be again sent there from Ireland,) threw the country again into a flame; and a casual judicial proceeding was magnified into national perfidy, and more than Carthaginian breach of faith and compact. The uproar was, if possible, louder than ever. Lord Charlemont, though he strove in the first instance to compose the agitated waves, considered the proceeding in some degree fortunate, as it would be necessary to obviate any such matter in future; and an occasion now presented itself, which by blending this forensic event, with the popular requisition, might lay the foundation of a total renunciatory act. A draught of such a bill was accordingly sent from hence to Westminster; where, having received some modifications, it was introduced into Parliament, slightly noticed in its passage through both Houses, and finally received the royal assent. In this manner closed the business of renunciation; originally set on foot by a few, and those interested men, it spread, and gradually embraced almost the whole country. Several persons of indisputable judgment, and most entire integrity, were undoubtedly, when the doctrine was first diffused abroad, of opinion, that it should be supported. But its origin in Parliament was, as I have stated; and that the conclusion should somewhat partake of that *pure, disinterested* spirit, which blazoned forth its commencement, the renunciatory act was clandestinely opposed by particular gentlemen, not from any conviction that it was unnecessary, but in hopes of completely embarrassing Lord Temple, to force him from the Viceroyalty, and restore

themselves, their junto, and their jobs, to a full radiance and possession of recently-eclipsed power.

Earl Temple continued here most deservedly a favourite with the people, till the junction of Lord North's and Mr. Fox's parliamentary forces effected that change which took place in April, 1783. The union between him and Lord Charlemont continued undiminished, and the Volunteers of Dublin, co-operating with their noble General, escorted him to the water side, as the only testimonial at that moment in their power, of their gratitude, affection, and reverence. He resigned the sword to Lord Northington.

Robert Henley, Earl of Northington, was son to Lord Chancellor Northington, a nobleman extremely well known, and much talked of in his day. But as wit and talents gradually assume their proper station, and give to their possessor more permanent celebrity than high rank, even when accompanied with no slight abilities, ever can confer, the name of his grandfather, Anthony Henley, is, after the lapse of a century, more familiar to many readers, than that of the Keeper of the Great Seal. He was a member of some of King William's, and Queen Anne's Parliaments; but he is particularly distinguished as being the intimate companion of Swift for several years, especially during Swift's connexion with the Whigs. Henley is frequently mentioned by him as a man of letters, wit, and singular humour. By Sir Samuel Garth he was also much esteemed, and had the honour of receiving the dedication of the Dispensary.

Lord Chancellor Northington was, greatly to his credit, the steady friend and supporter of Lord Camden, during that nobleman's early attendance at the bar, and at a time when, from particular circumstances, the aid of such a man as Henley was truly valuable to him. The Chancellor was a boon companion, and this part of his character, without his boisterousness, the Lord Lieutenant inherited. He was much regarded by Mr. Fox, under whose particular influence, I believe, he came to Ireland. It cannot be said that he was precisely that person who should have been sent here at a time so very critical; for his constitution was extremely enfeebled by the gout, and (what should be always attended to in the nomination of a Lord Lieutenant,) his rank, though that of an Earl, was not accompanied by sufficient splendour, to give him that importance so necessary in the eyes of the people. He was regarded as a new man, though his family was, in truth, an old English one. By those who lived

in society with him, he was much relished, as being frank, affable, and good-natured. His secretary (Mr. Windham) came here with great advantages. The name of Windham is familiar to all who know any thing of English history, and he was already distinguished as a scholar, and one who, in all probability, would act no obscure part in politics. He had the fire and the dignity of genius. When a very young man he had paid, as I am informed, a visit to Lord Townshend during that nobleman's Viceroyalty, and perhaps even then saw, or heard enough of the interior of the Irish Cabinet, to doubt, at a future day, the adequacy of his disposition or habits, to encounter such scenes as he had witnessed here, without self-reproach. Something of this distrust appears in a conversation which he had with his friend, Dr. Johnson, a few days previous to his setting out for Ireland, " Never fear, Sir," said Johnson, (whose experience of the world led him to imagine that it would soon dissolve the best intentions of a young and honourable statesman) " never fear, Sir, you will soon become a very pretty rascal."* But happily the moralist was mistaken.

Lord Northington, like his two immediate predecessors, had paid every attention to Lord Charlemont. At least, during the commencement of his administration, there was a frequent interchange of civilities. Lord Charlemont was enabled, soon after the Viceroy's arrival, to give what his Excellency considered very effectual assistance to him, in a conference with the Lord Mayor, at the Castle of Dublin. Not long after he received a letter from Lord Northington, an extract from which is here given.

Dublin Castle, Monday evening.

I was much disappointed to find, after the liberty I had taken to desire your Lordship's advice in private, upon a former occasion, that I was not to expect to receive it in a more public manner. As I am sure it will not only contribute much to the honour of my administration, but be of essential service to the affairs of this kingdom, to have the advantage of your Lordship's councils, I am to request of your Lordship to allow me to remove the impediment, and give me leave to have the honour of submitting your name for his Majesty's gracious consideration, to be placed as one of the Privy Council of this kingdom. If it will be a measure agreeable to your Lordship, I shall have the highest satisfac-

* See Boswell's life of Johnson.

tion in shewing your Lordship this mark of my esteem and regard. Being, with great esteem,

My Lord,

Your most, &c.

NORTHINGTON.

It may appear very singular that Lord Charlemont had never been nominated a Privy Counsellor. Perhaps the reason was, as he said to the Lord Lieutenant, that he had never applied for any such situation. He told his Excellency, (for on the receipt of this letter he instantly waited on him) that, although he had not thought of requesting such a favour, he could not decline a compliment so politely offered to him. One condition, however, he begged leave to propose, that Mr. Grattan, with whom, close as their political union was, he was still more allied by friendship, should be recommended at the same time for a seat in the Privy Council, otherwise he should, though with not less grateful respect to the Lord Lieutenant, totally relinquish the proposal. It seems that Mr. Grattan had no more applied for this situation than Lord Charlemont, and he was surely well entitled to it. The Viceroy said, that such a proposition did Lord Charlemont honour; that, for Mr. Grattan's character he had a high esteem, though he had not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him; and, if agreeable to that gentleman, he would join his name to Lord Charlemont's in his letter to England. Mr. Grattan was consulted, respectfully accepted the offer, and Lord Charlemont and he were accordingly sworn of the Privy Council.

Thus far every thing went well. But the Coalition Ministry was, as to the distribution of offices, gradually attended with the same effects here as in England. Some who had been frowned on, or removed, during the Duke of Portland's administration, now found their way back again to place and situation. Scott rose higher from his fall. Yelverton had indeed been appointed to succeed the lamented Chief Baron Burgh, but his rank at the bar, independent of his connection with the Portland party, seemed to point him out as Burgh's successor. His place of Attorney-General was given to Mr. Fitzgibbon. Mr. Forbes, who had been nominated Solicitor-General by his Grace of Portland, and with a delicacy unexampled declined the situation till Mr. Carleton,* who

* Now Lord Carleton.

then occupied it, was otherwise provided for, did not chuse to act as colleague to Fitzgibbon. The Coalition Ministry displayed itself in various employments. Much was chequered, and had there been a general harmony of parts, as was in a good measure the case in England, this distribution of light and shade might ultimately have been attended with pleasing effects. But there was no harmony. The old courtiers hated the new, and being more dextrous, were more successful. The arrangements which I have mentioned, with the exception of Yelverton's, could not have been much relished by Lord Charlemont, and those for whom they were made, could not much relish him. This disinclination, however, must be understood as limited to politics; for, as a private nobleman, all parties valued him; and even as to public matters, his opponents respected him. But respect, and cordial attachment, are very different.

Mr. Windham, who had served as a bond of union on the Viceroy's first coming here, between him and Lord Charlemont, now very wisely preferred the county of Norfolk to the Phœnix Park, near Dublin; and retired from his situation. Lord Charlemont had long known and esteemed him, as an accomplished, amiable man. This secession added much to his chagrin, as might reasonably be expected. Mr. Pelham then came over as Secretary. "A name unmusical to Tory ears," in days past, and in the present, not very harmonious to those with whom Mr. Pelham was obliged to coalesce. However, he did not forget his ancestry, and those who love constitutional liberty must regard their memory. At that time, he was here during part of a session only, and that part was sufficiently stormy. He was young, but he steered through it with adroitness. A circumstance, apparently trivial, but meant by the old court to wound Lord Charlemont, took place on the first day of the opening of Parliament. He had been accustomed to move the thanks of the Lords to the Volunteers. But the Duke of Leinster, who acted entirely with Lord Northington's administration, now anticipated him. Neither jealousy, (though his Grace and Lord Charlemont had, in the earlier days of the Volunteers, contended for the command of them) nor the desire of hurting the feelings of the venerable Earl, had, I am convinced, the most feeble operation on his mind. He was proverbially liberal in his sentiments, and always good-natured. But he had a facility of temper which made him too often listen to the suggestions of those, who, except sometimes from the casualty of rank, were

utterly unfit to approach him. Never shall I think of that good nobleman without every sentiment of tenderness and respect. But one of the notable triumphs of the old court in Ireland, was the dissolution, when it could be effected, of ancient political friendships. Private friendships, in a country which, with all its impetuosity, has much of the milk of human kindness, were of too strong a cement for their efforts. Several, who were personally attached to each other, always voted on different sides of the House in Ireland. Party never formed that great gulph of separation, which we have seen it effect in London. Besides, the society in Dublin was too limited to admit of it. But when one political friend could be detached on important questions, from another, some of the members of the old court were uncommonly radiant. So far, however, from separating the Duke and Lord Charlemont, this business created only the murmur of a few minutes. Lord Charlemont had too much candour, not to express his surprize to the Duke; but he loved his Grace, and his father, too well to be disturbed by such a passing blot, as the Castle Spells had thrown over their ancient connexion.

The Volunteers were not satisfied, because their old General did not move the resolution in their favour, as heretofore; but they could not have been more dissatisfied than many of those who had passed the resolution; and who would gladly have voted, not merely the thanks, but the Volunteers themselves, null and void, could they have done so with safety. That army was become disagreeable, not to say odious, to some persons in power. They menaced certain of the Volunteers in private, and complimented them in public. The menace and the compliment were alike inefficacious. In vain was it insinuated, that their longer continuance in arms would be considered as dangerous to the state. In vain was it declared, with a profusion of courtesies, that no men had ever acted better, and that, as it was now a time of peace, and every constitutional point granted on the part of England, they should look to an honourable repose. This was true, but the sincerity of those who spoke thus was much questioned, and that circumstance spoiled all. No one moved. The only auxiliary, which some impatient politicians could now look to, for the dissolution or decay of the Volunteer army, was time itself, and that would have aided them, though slowly. But proceedings were now to take place, of a nature, it must be confessed, most novel and alarming, which form a particular epocha in

the History of Lord Charlemont, and the Volunteer army, and contributed, more than any event whatever, to shake that institution to its utmost foundation. It is necessary here to trace matters to their source.—The progress of the American war had been disastrous in the extreme. But, notwithstanding such disasters, the mass of the people, as well as the Cabinet, were not indisposed to the continuance of hostilities, and indulged the hope, that some unexpected series of circumstances, some division in the American army, in the States themselves, or defection on the part of France, if England persevered, would ultimately crown their warfare with success, and bring back America to its ancient subordination. The obstacles which presented themselves to that reduction, had been not unforeseen by the most sagacious in politics, but by the ignorant were disregarded, as owing merely to the temerity of one General, the supineness of another, and the more than common perfidy of the French and Spanish Cabinets. It required, therefore, according to the last-mentioned class of politicians, nothing more than some greater exertion on our part, to recover our lost laurels, our lost colonies, and subjugate the *natural* enemies of Great Britain, as no slight portion of Europe is denominated by many, who profess themselves to be no less energetic and loyal subjects, than rational benign christians. In less than three years after the defeat of Burgoyne, the surrender of Lord Cornwallis took place, and thus the captivity of two armies was requisite to open our eyes, and assuage somewhat of national presumption. That presumption at length, and most reluctantly, gave way. All hope of subduing America, or alleviating the burthens which multiplied ten-fold in our efforts towards that subjection, now vanished from the public mind; but the Cabinet still pursued its course. The people were, however, weary of the contest, and, galling under the weight of taxation, condemned the obstinacy of the Cabinet, and called aloud for the conclusion of the war. From the Cabinet they turned their eyes to Parliament, whose servility they reprobated, and, totally forgetting their own inconsiderate ardour in the prosecution of the war, attributed their sufferings to the inadequate representation of the people, from whence alone, as was asserted, all past calamity flowed. But, in truth, as far as the American contest was productive of calamity, if, at its commencement, the representation had been more extended, Lord North would have had a more extended support; for, unquestionably, not only the origin, but the prosecution of that war,

were, for some years, highly popular in various, and especially the remote parts of England. The national sentiment however was now changed, and a declaration of the increased influence of the Crown had, under the auspices of a great constitutional lawyer, (Mr. Dunning)* been made by the representatives of the people. For this, and in short, all abuses whatever, a parliamentary reform was loudly called for. In some places, delegates the most respectable for rank and talents were appointed to consider a subject of such magnitude; and Mr. William Pitt, then first advancing to public notice, with every aid that a splendid name, and splendid abilities could give to him, seemed, as a Statesman, to assume to himself the almost exclusive guardianship of this favoured measure, and to render such an illustrious, and necessary tutelage, the best foundation of his own fame, and a more exalted state of public prosperity.

If England had reason to complain of the inadequacy or inequality of its representation in the House of Commons, the people of Ireland had, at least, as much cause to find fault with their's; and had the subject been confined to county and city meetings, or occasional assemblies of delegates, unexceptionably convened, no question could have arisen as to the propriety, and perhaps, real utility, of such discussions. Petitions, the result of those meetings, might have been duly laid before Parliament; and though immediate success, or any thing like it, could not be looked for, the attention of the House of Commons to the original and simple proposition of a parliamentary reform, would not have been diverted to matters of an extraneous nature, and totally hostile to the cause with which they so improperly intermingled themselves. What was the case at the present moment? The voice of England in favour of a reform was re-echoed here, not by the people, constitutionally speaking, but by the Volunteer army, issuing indeed from the people, yet still a military body, numerous and formidable. Parliament had, as Mr. Grattan justly stated, not bullied, but backed by them, overthrown the jurisdiction of another Parliament, and now, however well-intentioned the Volunteer army in general undoubtedly was, it is but too certain that many who belonged to it wished, not to modify, not to meliorate, but at once overset the popular branch of their own legislature, without whose regular, though slow co-operation, they could have obtained

* Lord Ashburton.

nothing; for all the respectability, rank, property, and sober intellect of the country would have opposed them, and England, though crippled at that time by the war, was not laid prostrate.

The slightest collision, however, of that nature, every good man in both countries would justly have shuddered at. But the kindom was now much agitated. A provincial meeting had met at Cork on the 1st of March, 1783, and entered into various resolutions in favour of reform. On the 24th of July following, whilst Lord Charlemont was on a visit at Lurgan, to his friend Mr. Brownlow, he received the annexed letter from the committee of correspondence appointed by the delegates of forty-five Volunteer corps assembled at Lisburne, on the 1st of July, 1783, which committee met at Belfast on the 19th of the same month. It was this committee which corresponded with the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Pitt, and other promoters of reform.*

Belfast, July 19th, 1783.

My Lord,

The very glorious and effectual part your Lordship has taken in the emancipation of this kingdom, naturally leads the Volunteers of the north of Ireland to look up to your Lordship, for a decided support in favour of a reform, which your Lordship has already declared meets your warmest approbation.—To a nobleman so well acquainted with the ruinous state of the representation of Ireland, in us to aim at conveying information were superfluous and unnecessary. The day fixed for the Dungannon meeting being very near, viz. the 8th of September next, and our day of meeting, as a committee for arranging the information we shall receive, being the 20th of August, we humbly hope your Lordship will favour us before the latter date, with your sentiments at large on this subject, pointing out such *a specific mode of reform*, and the most eligible steps leading to it, as come up to your Lordship's ideas.—We have yet another favour to request, viz. that your Lordship would inform us, whether shortening the duration of Parliaments, exclusion of pensioners, limiting the number of placemen, and a tax on absentees, or any of them, be in your Lordship's opinion subjects in which the Volunteers of Ireland ought to interfere;—and we more earnestly entreat, that your Lordship may favour us with a sketch of such resolutions, as your Lordship would

* Charlemont papers.

think proper to be proposed at Dungannon.—Your Lordship will be so good to address your reply to our chairman, at Lisburne.

Signed by order, &c.

This letter made a deep impression on Lord Charlemont. It was to him a sufficient indication of what I have already stated, that there were some leaders of the Volunteers, determined not to limit their operations to a parliamentary reform, but to visit, regulate, perhaps controul, every department in the state. The points alluded to in their letter met his approbation, the tax on absentees excepted. The principal object, a parliamentary reform, would, he was afraid, be crushed to nothing, amid such a crowd of measures with which they proposed to accompany it. Altogether the business did not seem to him to wear the most propitious aspect. Something however was to be done, and he immediately wrote the following letter. Perhaps few men had ever a more delicate and difficult part to act than Lord Charlemont, not only at the present juncture, but throughout the whole of this momentous business.

Lurgan, July 24th, 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

Please to accept my most sincere acknowledgments for your kind, though I fear, too partial expressions, as well as for the honour you have done me, in applying to me for advice on a matter so justly interesting to you, and so very important to this nation. But while I thank you for your kindness towards me, I cannot avoid perceiving that your partiality has induced you greatly to over-rate my abilities, which are far unequal to the task you have assigned me. A reform in the representation of Ireland is a measure which most certainly meets with my warmest approbation, and you may be assured that I shall co-operate with every sincere lover of his country, towards the attainment of that desirable object; but to point out a specific mode, is a matter of so difficult a nature, that I should esteem myself presumptuous, if I should attempt it,—certain as I am, that it will require the united efforts, and the most deliberate consideration of the wisest men in this kingdom, to produce such a plan, as may be deemed unexceptionable. The pain, however, which I must at all times feel from being compelled to refuse my immediate compliance with any request of your's, is in the present instance somewhat alleviated, by my being clearly of opinion,

that it is not now necessary that such mode should be pointed out to you; and since you have been pleased to ask my advice, permit me, as a sincere friend to the object of our mutual wishes, to advise, that, at the Dungannon meeting, the measure alone should be recommended, without specifying any mode whatsoever; which last consideration ought, according to the best of my judgment, to be left *entirely* to the *mature deliberation* of *your Parliament*, and particularly of those representatives whom you are now about to chuse.

Respecting the other points upon which you desire my judgment, they are all of them important, and of nice discussion; but I will abstain from entering into them for this plain reason, that I would heartily recommend it to you, to confine yourselves to the one great measure only, which, when once carried into execution, will infallibly secure all benefits of inferior magnitude.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient, and most faithful Servant,

CHARLEMONT.

The meeting at Dungannon was held on the day appointed, consisting of delegates from 269 military corps. Mr. James Stewart, member for the county of Tyrone, Lord Charlemont's particular and valued friend, was called to the chair. Lord Bristol, (Bishop of Derry) was also present. Many resolutions were entered into; but the principal one was, "That a committee of five persons from each county be chosen by ballot, to represent this province, (Ulster) in a grand national convention, to be held at noon, in the Royal Exchange of Dublin, on the 10th of November next, to which we trust each of the other provinces will send delegates to digest, and publish, a plan of parliamentary reform, to pursue such measures as may appear to them most likely to render it effectual, to adjourn from time to time, and convene provincial meetings, if found necessary.

An address to the Volunteers of Munster, Connaught, and Leinster, accompanied this resolution, fraught with the loftiest sentiments in favour of liberty, alluding to the events of last year, merely as an incitement to go further, and pouring itself forth in that diffuse and impassioned eloquence, always imposing on men of warm tempers, on subjects with which they are

little conversant, and exactly adapted to the ardent and precipitant master-spirits of that agitated period. Several subordinate resolutions were entered into. A proposition relative to the concession of the elective franchise to the Roman Catholics was brought forward; well intentioned, perhaps, but indiscreet, for though that measure was most wisely, (as I shall ever think) adopted by Parliament, ten years afterwards, it not only would not have met support from the Protestant part of the community in 1783, but any warm efforts in its favour must have only added to that flame, which already began to blaze with too great violence. Lord Charlemont's friends took the lead in the rejection of this proposition. It clearly indicates the limited space in which the convention moved. But more of this hereafter.

An extract from a letter of Mr. Burke to Lord Charlemont, though it does not allude to the convention, shows in some respect the sentiments of the ministers with whom he was connected, towards Ireland just at this time. ——"I see with concern that there are some remains of ferment in Ireland, though, I think, we have poured in to assuage it, almost all the oil in our stores. To my astonishment, I hear, that the very throwing out of a bill, in a common parliamentary form, because the renewal of it, by the carelessness of the bringer in, militated with the late ample grants to you in the colony trade, has been matter of offence to some people. On this it is impossible to say any thing. I am sorry for it. Ireland is an independent kingdom to all intents and purposes. But there are circumstances in the situation of all countries, that no claims made, or allowed, can alter. We cannot reclaim, and I really believe, no creature here wishes to reclaim, one iota of the concessions made. But you are too near us, not to be affected, more or less, with the state of things here. If you quarrel with the present ministry, it will embarrass them undoubtedly; but then you may have those who do not wish so sincerely for making the prosperity of Ireland a very principal part of the bond of union between us. Instead of treaty, to begin with quarrel, about what may be thought fit to ask, is hardly the usage, even of those who are supposed in a sort of natural state of enmity. But I go beyond my mark. A little anxiety for the public in a very critical state, has induced me to exceed the limits prescribed to one who has little natural weight, and no official duty, that calls him to this particular affair, unless it becomes matter of parliamentary discussion."

As the time for the meeting of the convention now drew near, the Lord Lieutenant and the Government were, and with reason, not at all at their ease, but most wisely forbore any hostility. Indeed, any thing of that sort would then have been as inefficacious on their part, as the efforts of some of the best friends of the Volunteers were unavailing in checking their progress. Many of the delegates, however, who were chosen, in a good measure soothed the fears of Government. Lord Charlemont, Mr. Brownlow, and three other gentlemen of rank and consequence, were appointed from Armagh. Mr. Stewart, from Tyrone. Several of known loyalty, and inimical to all anarchy, were nominated. Others indeed, of very dissimilar principles, procured seats in the convention. The county of Derry appointed four respectable members, with whom they associated their Bishop, Frederick, Earl of Bristol. If this work should chance to survive the present day, those who come after us may not be incurious to learn something, however slight, of that singular man. He was the son of Lord Hervey, so generally, but so imperfectly known, by the malign antithesis, and epigrammatic lines of Pope. His mother, Lady Hervey, was also the subject of that poet's muse; but his muse when playful, and in good humour. Two noblemen of very distinguished talents, the Earls of Chesterfield and Bath, have also celebrated her in a most witty and popular ballad.* Lord Bristol was a man of considerable parts, but far more brilliant than solid. His family was indeed famous for talents, equally so for eccentricity; and the eccentricity of the whole race shone out, and seemed to be concentrated in him. In one respect, he was not unlike Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, "Every thing by starts, and nothing long." Generous, but uncertain; splendid, but fantastical; an admirer of the fine arts, without any just selection, engaging, often licentious in conversation; extremely polite, extremely violent;—it is indubitably true, that amidst all his erratic course, his bounty was not seldom directed to the most proper and deserving objects. His distribution of church livings, chiefly, as I have been informed, among the older and respectable clergy in his own diocese, must always be mentioned with that warm approbation which it is justly entitled to. It is said, (how truly I know not) that he had applied for the Bishopric of Durham, afterwards for the Lieutenancy of Ireland; was refused

* See the verses on Molly Lepel. Lady Hervey was the daughter of General Lepel.

both, and, *hinc illæ lacrymæ*, hence his opposition. But the inequality, the irregular flow of his mind, at every period of his life, sufficiently illustrate his conduct, at this peculiar and momentous period.—Such, however, was this illustrious prelate, who, notwithstanding he scarcely ever attended Parliament, and spent most of his time in Italy, was now called upon to correct the abuses of Parliament, and direct the vessel of state in that course, where statesmen of the most experience, and persons of the calmest judgment, have had the misfortune totally to fail.—His progress from his diocese to the Metropolis, and his entrance into it, were perfectly correspondent to the rest of his conduct. Through every town on the road he seemed to court, and was received, with all warlike honours; and I remember seeing him pass by the Parliament House in Dublin, (Lords and Commons were then both sitting) escorted by a body of dragoons, full of spirits and talk, apparently enjoying the eager gaze of the surrounding multitude, and displaying altogether, the self-complacency of a favourite Marshal of France, on his way to Versailles, rather than the grave deportment of a Prelate of the church of England.

The convention met in Dublin, at the Royal Exchange, when, as preparatory to every thing else, they chose Lord Charlemont their President. "The same reason," says his Lordship,* "which had induced me to accept the nomination from Armagh, and to persuade many moderate friends of mine, much against their wishes, to suffer themselves to be delegated, namely, that there should be in the assembly, a strength of prudent men sufficient, by withstanding or preventing violence, to secure moderate measures, induced me now to accept the troublesome and dangerous office of President, which was unanimously voted to me. Another reason also concurred to prevent my refusal. The Bishop of Derry had, I knew, done all in his power to be elected to that office, and I feared that, if I should refuse, the choice might fall on him, which would indeed have been fatal to the public repose." The delegates being very numerous, the place of meeting was altered from the Exchange, the rooms of which were too small, to the Rotunda, in Rutland-Square. Lord Charlemont, as President, led the way, accompanied by a squadron of horse; then followed the

* Charlemont papers, memorandums, &c.

delegates, who walked two and two, and formed a procession altogether as novel as imposing.

The convention now sat in form, and presented, according to Lord Charlemont, "a numerous, and truly respectable body of gentlemen. For, though some of a lower class had been delegated, by far the majority were men of rank and fortune, and many of them Members of Parliament, Lords, and Commoners; a circumstance which may be in some degree attributed to my endeavours. For, though I never cordially approved of the meeting, yet, as I found it impossible to withstand the general impulse towards it, and, as for reasons already assigned, I did not chuse to exert myself against it, especially as there was cause to fear my exertions would be fruitless, and if so, might prevent my being useful towards moderating and guiding those measures which I could not with efficacy oppose, and directing that torrent which might otherwise have swept down all before it, I had, upon mature consideration, determined that to render the assembly as respectable as possible, was the next best mode to the entire prevention of it; and this, not only for the sake of public tranquillity, but the measure also which it meant to forward."*

Such were the well-meant efforts of Lord Charlemont. But when the convention proceeded to business, it was soon found, that his moderation and good sense, aided by the most respectable in that convention, would too often prove altogether inefficient. Though Mr. Brownlow, a wise man, and carrying with him that authority which wisdom and integrity, supported by large possessions, will very generally command, was chairman of the committee, into which the convention resolved itself; though other gentlemen, the most respectable, formed the sub-committee, whose business it was to receive plans of reform, the violent, untutored, and unprincipled, sometimes prevailed, and carried resolutions, totally contrary to the wishes of the President, or Chairman.

A singular scene was soon displayed, and yet, such a scene as any one, who considered the almost unvarying disposition of an assembly of that nature, and the particular object for which it was convened, might justly have expected. From every quarter, and from every speculatist, great clerks, or no clerks at all,

* Minutes of the convention, memorandums, &c.

was poured in such a multiplicity of plans of reform, some of them ingenious, some which bespoke an exercised and rational mind, but, in general, as I have been well assured, so utterly impracticable, " So rugged and so wild in their attire," they looked not like " the offspring of inhabitants of the earth, and yet were on it ;" that language would sink in pourtraying this motley band of incongruous fancies, of mis-shapen theories, valuable only if inefficient, or execrable, if efficacious. All this daily issued from presumptuous empirics, or the vainly busy minds of some political philanthropists, whom the good breeding alone of their countrymen permitted to be regarded as not totally out of their senses. The committee shewed a perseverance almost marvellous, but the murky conceits, and solemn vanities of such pretenders, would have put even the patience of the man of Uz to flight. At last, after being for several days bewildered in this palpable obscure of politics, and more and more theories flitting round the heads of the unfortunate committee, *that* which must for ever take place on such occasions, took place here. A dictator was appointed, not indeed in name, but substance. The Bishop of Derry moved, that Mr. Henry Flood, who had not been one of the committee, should be nominated, as an assessor, or joint member. And here was displayed the potency of oratorical talents in such a body of men, and the justice of Lord Bolingbroke's observation, that the House of Commons, or in short, any assembly partaking of the nature of the House of Commons, is like a pack of hounds. They will always follow the man who shews them most game. So rapid and decisive was the superiority which Flood obtained, that, without his concurrence, nothing was approved of. The Bishop now, as has been often experienced, found himself undone by his auxiliary. All his hopes of pre-eminence in the convention, and elsewhere, rested on his ill-timed support of the elective franchise, as a measure then, and *at once*, to be conceded to the Catholics. The grossest adulation would blush to say, that this support arose from superior discernment, or superior benevolence. His family had always cultivated Whig principles, and however the necessity of " The descendants of the Princess Sophia being Protestants," might have formed an article of his political creed, as well as that of his predecessor's, yet, when we consider his volatility, his long residence on the Banks of the Tiber, and general society there, we may justly conclude that, at any period of our history, *Tros, Tyriusve*, Catholic or Protestant Electors, or Statesmen, would have been objects of the

most entire indifference to him. They, in truth, were so, and his propositions, as to the Catholics, though dignified by his adherents, with the terms of highly philosophical, were resisted by Flood, with that gentleman's usual success. This rejection of the Catholic, brought forward various plans of reform in favour of the Protestants, or the electors as they *then* stood. Flood's angry frown, and angry comments, exiled them all. Adieu to all the theories, phlegmatic or airy, of the learned and the unlearned! They were no more heard of. At last, Mr. Flood produced his own plan for new modelling the House of Commons. It was unanimously adopted by the inferior, and then submitted to the grand committee, as it was called. A long debate arose. The difficulties under which the assembly laboured in this great work of legislation, were now apparent. Flood's plan, notwithstanding all his subtle interpretations and comments, was, on sober investigation, found not much superior to many which preceded it. Nay, there were some who, like Dangle in the play, thought that the interpreter was the hardest to be understood of any of his coadjutors. But, with all his plan's acknowledged imperfections, it was submitted to, as the best that could be patronized without putting the assembly to the blush, and, indeed, the state itself to the most imminent hazard.

A short scene was now acted, and, according to all the rules of criticism, in perfect unison with the former. Two or three Lords and Gentlemen; who possessed borough property, declared in the Convention, that any proper plan of reform should meet no obstacle from such possessions remaining in their hands. They would willingly relinquish them for the benefit of the people. Immediately after those gentlemen, who at that moment of enthusiasm were, I make no doubt, perfectly serious in what they said, and were capable of very generous derelictions, uprose several patriotic personages, and professing equal ardour in the public cause, made similar renunciations. Unfortunately, however, *their* pretensions to this invidious species of property were by no means so unequivocal. Some of those boroughs which they were pleased to call exclusively their own, presented only very debateable ground, and were in general known to those gentlemen, merely by the long sufferings which they sustained for even a dubious and transitory interest in them. To abandon such boroughs altogether would, at any time, be consummate prudence. To immolate a set of voters, periodically corrupt, or law agents perpetually rapacious, would be most laudable, if a convention or reform had never been heard of. " Upon such sacrifices, the Gods

themselves, would," I think, "throw incense;" could they have really been made. Yet, with no other offerings to lay on the altar of public freedom, than what might justly be termed their own personal embarrassments, and molestations, did those gentlemen rise, one after the other, and, with the most untired gravity, nobly bestow on the people their untenable claims, and unsound interests. But they seemed resolved, on that day, that every proceeding in the Convention should be almost ideal, and visionary plans of reform were followed by imaginary proscriptions of family electors.

Those shadows having passed over the scene in very solemn and ridiculous order, the eyes of the spectators were at length tired of such mock-heroic visions, and all turned towards Lord Charlemont. An enemy to ostentation, and always averse to public speaking, he had hitherto remained silent. But he found it necessary now to say something. "My determination," said his Lordship, "to sacrifice to the public that borough, which I have ever held in trust for the people, was, I thought, sufficiently declared, by my acceptance of a seat at this meeting. That trust I have at all times endeavoured to execute to the public advantage; and I can assure this assembly, that I have never felt so much real satisfaction in the exercise of those powers, which, as a trustee for the people, have been confided to me, as I now do, in resigning them." The convention, and, indeed, all his auditory, were to the utmost gratified by this declaration, and applauded it as the language of sincerity and true patriotism.—Flood's plan of reform having now passed the ordeal of the two committees, was finally reported to the convention, where the Bishop of Derry again brought forward his proposal in favour of the Catholics, and was supported by several of the delegates. Lord Charlemont and his friends opposed him strenuously, and again left him in a minority. The point was warmly discussed. These repeated differences did not contribute much to the establishment of any cordial amity between the noble Prelate and the Earl. The former, one day whilst the Convention was employed on something unimportant, ventured to hint to Lord Charlemont, as they sat for some minutes apart together, "That his conduct was by no means generally approved of," (alluding, it is presumed, to the Catholic business,) "and that he was considered as rather lukewarm in favour of a reform." To this suggestion Lord Charlemont replied, as may be imagined, with some warmth. A short, and somewhat unpleasant conversation took place,

not at all necessary now to detail, but which closed with these words of Lord Charlemont. "The difference which I make between the present and the former objects of our exertions is this: Whilst Ireland was in effect subject to a foreign legislature, there were no lengths I would not have gone to rescue her from a state, which I considered as positive slavery. To that point I had pledged my life and fortune, and towards the attainment of it, I would willingly and cheerfully have hazarded not only them, but what was, and still is more dear to me, and far more important, the peace of my country. Our present object I esteem great, and of high importance, and to obtain it, will do every thing not inconsistent with the public peace. But I will go no further. Make what use of this you please." The Convention proceeded to business, and the Bishop withdrew.

After three weeks sitting, the labours of the Convention seemed to draw towards an end. Lord Charlemont's health had suffered much from so close a confinement, and he looked with pleasure to the moment, when he could resume his daily exercise, and literary occupations. That moment did not arrive as soon as he expected. The commencement of the Convention was inauspicious, but the conclusion was agitating and eventful beyond any period in its history.—It is not to be forgotten, that Parliament had met the end of October, and was at this time actually sitting. To the astonishment of Lord Charlemont, Flood arose in the Convention, about four o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, November 29th, and proposed, that he, accompanied by such Members of Parliament, as were then present, should immediately go down to the House of Commons, and move for leave to bring in a bill, exactly correspondent in every respect, to the plan of reform which he had submitted to, and was approved of by, the Convention. To this proposition he added another, "That the convention should not adjourn till the fate of his motion was ascertained." A more complete designation, and avowal of a deliberative assembly, coexisting with Lords and Commons, and, apparently, of co-extensive authority, could scarcely be made. It was, in truth, like bringing up a bill from the Bar of one House of Parliament to that of another. Both motions were acceded to. The impropriety, the imprudence of such a step, was deeply felt by Lord Charlemont. That the gentlemen who adopted Mr. Flood's proposition did not see it in this light, or seeing its real complexion, did not abandon it, may be partly attributed

to the ascendancy which Flood had, at this time, obtained over most of them, as well as to that extreme ardour, which, pursuing a favoured object, overlooks or contemns all obstacles. Lord Charlemont had received a hint of this extraordinary movement from Flood, but it was no more than a hint; and on his remonstrating against it, that gentleman seemed to have abandoned it. Nor would he perhaps have brought it forward at all, certainly not then, had he not been impelled by particular personal motives. His great ambition was to take the lead in this business of reform; and as he at that time looked to a seat in the British House of Commons, (which he soon after obtained,) his views would, as he imagined, be most powerfully aided by his splendid exertions in the Convention, as well as the Irish Parliament, and enable him to aspire to superior rank and authority among the Reformists in England, as well as those of Ireland. The time however pressed, and he was obliged to go to London in a very few days. To relinquish the honour of moving the question of reform to any one, he could not think of, and the eagerness of some delegates, co-operating with his own personal convenience, he hurried it into the House of Commons. Thus is there a secret history in all public transactions, and that history not always the most brilliant.

Parliament now became the theatre of popular exertion. Whoever was present in the House of Commons on the night of the 29th of November 1783, cannot easily forget what passed there. I do not use any disproportionate language, when I say, that the scene was almost terrific. Several of the minority, and all the delegates, who had come from the Convention, were in uniforms, and bore the aspect of stern hostility. On the other hand, administration being supported on this occasion by many independent gentlemen, and having at their head very able men, such as Mr. Yelverton,* and Mr. Daly, presented a body of strength not always seen in the ministerial ranks, looked defiance to their opponents, and indeed seemed almost unassailable. They stood certainly on most advantageous ground, and that ground given to them by their adversaries. Mr. Flood, flushed with his recent triumphs in another place, and, enjoying the lofty situation which his abilities always placed him in, fearlessly led on the attack. Mr. Yelverton answered him with great animation, great strength of argument, and concluded with a generous, dignified appeal to the

* Afterwards Lord Avonmore, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Volunteers, whom he applauded for every part of their conduct, the present alone excepted. Some speeches followed in a similar tone, but the minds of men soon became too heated to permit any regular debate whatever.—It was uproar, it was clamour, violent menace, and furious recrimination! If ever a popular assembly wore the appearance of a wild and tumultuous ocean, it was on this occasion; at certain, and those very short, intervals, there was something like a calm, when the dignity of Parliament, the necessity of supporting the Constitution, and danger of any military assembly, were feelingly and justly expatiated on. The sad state of the representation was, with equal truth, depicted on the other side. A denial of volunteer interference, and the necessity of amending the representation, whether Volunteers existed or not, was, in the first instance, made with very imperfect sincerity, and in the latter, with genuine candour. To this again succeeded tumult and confusion, mingled with the sad and angry voices of many who, allied to boroughs, railed at the Volunteers, like slaves, not gentlemen, and pretended to uphold the Constitution, whilst they were, in truth appalled at the light, that now began, as their terror suggested, to pervade their ancient and ambiguous property. But the imprudence of the Volunteers was of more service to such men than all their array of servile hostility; on that night, at least, it proved their best safeguard, and placed them not within the shadowy, uncertain confines of a depopulated borough, where they could find no safety, but under the walls of the Constitution itself. The tempest, (for towards morning debate there was almost none) at last ceased; the question was put, and carried, of course, in favour of government, their numbers 159, those of the opposition, 77. This was followed, and wisely too, by a resolution, " declaratory of the fixed determination of the House to maintain its privileges and just rights against any encroachments whatever; and that it was then indispensably necessary to make such a declaration." An Address to be carried up to the Throne, as the joint Address of Lords and Commons, was then moved for, in which, after expressing their perfect satisfaction in his Majesty's government, they declared their determined resolution to support that Government, and the Constitution, with their lives and fortunes. This Address was carried to the Lords, and immediately agreed to.

We must now go back to the Convention.—After sitting two hours, or more, and receiving no intelligence from Mr. Flood, Lord Charlemont, sus-

pecting that which had now taken place, and dreading least the delegates, who, to make use of his own phrase, had put themselves clearly in the wrong, might plunge still deeper in error, if they continued, at that time, to sit any longer, prevailed on them to adjourn to the Monday following. All his address was required to carry this point, and no other person would, at that time, have, perhaps, succeeded. The next day (Sunday) there was a large meeting at Charlemont House, of his particular friends, who unanimously agreed, that the public peace should be the first object of their attention. Messages were received from several delegates, of whom Lord Charlemont had scarcely any personal knowledge, that they were ready to follow him in any measure he should propose. On Monday morning he took the chair at an earlier hour than usual, at the Convention.—A gloomy, sullen taciturnity prevailed for some time; at length a delegate arose, and began to inveigh against the House of Commons. This was exactly what Lord Charlemont expected, and, at all hazards, resolved to put an end to. He immediately arose, called the delegate to order, and said, " That one of the wisest usages in Parliament was, never to take notice in one House of what was said in another. The observance of such a rule, he then begged particularly to recommend to the Convention." The propriety of this speech was instantaneously felt; and, though many subsequent efforts were made, tending to misrule and anarchy, such was the respect paid to Lord Charlemont, that the utmost tranquillity prevailed. To insure that tranquillity, it was absolutely necessary to convince the delegates, that, notwithstanding what had passed in Parliament, the original object of their meeting should in no wise be departed from, and, that a Parliamentary Reform should be as sedulously attended to, though in a different form, as it had been before. Lord Charlemont's plan, at the original meeting of the Convention, was, to prevent the most remote intercourse between Parliament and that Assembly. That the delegates, the Convention being previously dissolved, should lay the scheme of reform, which seemed to be most approved of, before their county meetings, regularly convened; and if that, *or any other* scheme, should be particularly regarded, then, to recommend such measure to their representatives, and petition Parliament on the subject. This plan effectually guarded against any direct conflict, at least, between Parliament and the Convention; and though, in fact, its military origin could not be altogether denied,

if the scheme of that Assembly was *alone* proposed, yet it was so soon to be clothed in the garb of the Constitution alone, by being laid before the people, and by them again, through the medium of their representatives, before Parliament, that it was almost above exception, and perhaps the best that, in such a peculiar situation as matters then stood, could be devised. But Flood's genius, as we have seen, prevailed. On the present day of meeting, it was absolutely incumbent not to suffer the Convention to depart without keeping some plan of reform still before their eyes; without this, the delegates would not have been pacified, nor indeed could it be expected. The following resolutions were, therefore, proposed, and most warmly and unanimously adopted:

Resolved unanimously.—That it is highly necessary for the delegates of counties, cities, and towns, in conjunction with the other freeholders of their several counties, to forward the plan of reform agreed to by this Convention, by convening county meetings, or whatever other constitutional mode they may find most expedient; and that they not only instruct their representatives to support the same in Parliament, but also request the members of the several cities, towns, boroughs, and manors, within their county, to aid in carrying the same into effect.

Resolved unanimously,—That the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform is manifest, and that we do exhort the nation, by every constitutional effort, to effectuate such Reform.

But the business did not close here.—To the severe, yet gentlemanlike reprehension, which many respectable members of the House of Commons considered themselves as justified by the occasion to use towards the Volunteers, had been added many, and most intemperate, expressions against them by others, not the wisest or best part of the House. An Address to the King was, therefore, resolved on; a protestation of their loyalty to their Sovereign, and attachment to Great Britain, being regarded as the most dignified replication that could be made. The Address was conceived in very dutiful terms, and concluded with these words:—" And to implore your Majesty, that our humble wish to have certain manifest perversions of the Parliamentary Representation of this Kingdom remedied by the Legislature in some reasonable degree, may not be imputed to any spirit of innovation in us, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the Constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of our

fellow subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms." Lord Charlemont fully aware of the evil consequences that might ensue from the continuance of such an assembly in the Metropolis, under the circumstances it was now placed, most wisely insisted, that no other business should be proceeded on, and the Convention finally adjourned.——Thus closed this celebrated meeting, which there is every reason to wish had never been convened. To deviate from candour, would ill accord with the venerable name which can alone, perhaps, give any thing like permanency to these memoirs, and an adherence to truth, is the great duty of any historian, to which all other considerations must necessarily yield. From the personal characters of the leading delegates, nothing dangerous to the state was to be apprehended. But the very reasons which most of them assigned for accepting such a situation, proved, more than any thing else could, the irregularity and impropriety of the meeting. They consented to be chosen, in order to prevent mischief. What could any rational man expect from an assembly which, in its very formation, carried with it the seeds of civil confusion? Happily for Ireland, Lord Charlemont, and men like him, prevented such seeds from coming to maturity. Yet, with all their influence, they were, in some instances, obliged to give way. To put a stop originally to any Convention whatever, was beyond their power. The increase, the success of the volunteers, stimulated them to pass the line of sound discretion, and they would have formed a Convention, though their loved General had openly declared himself totally inimical to it. Many acted, unquestionably, from the purest motives; others from perfect good wishes to the state, mingled with no small attention to their own family interests; and the volunteers, in one particular district, were brought forward, unknowingly, to aid those interests and the common cause at the same time. They were called forth, too, at this particular period, because those who knew them best, were perfectly sensible that their intervention would otherwise be too late, or that they could not be collected at all; the institution being, in that district, and some other places, even then rather on the decline. This may surprize many readers, but the fact was indubitably so. There were also some who entered into the Convention, for the purposes of mischief. The popular interest altogether predominated, and when the Convention sat, the mass of the

delegates acted as assemblies, merely popular, ever will act. They wandered over a multiplicity of objects, sometimes as reason, sometimes as caprice dictated; liberal in sentiment, arbitrary in conduct, till a man of superior abilities (Flood) arose, and for a time ruled them with absolute sway. So closely do the confines of multitudinous and personal despotism touch each other, and so certain is it that, when the people seem to govern with almost uncontrolled authority, do they most approximate to the solitary rule of an individual. How did this assembly act? At its very onset it claimed an authority not at all inferior to that of the Legislature, (the common phrase was, that the Convention was the true Parliament,) and at its conclusion, it rushed forward with propositions for the instant adoption of the House of Commons. Had such an intervention been in the slightest degree successful, it is evident, to any thinking person, that the remedy would have been infinitely worse than the disease. Such a victory over the House of Commons, could not have terminated there, for neither the volunteers, nor the people, would have been satisfied with it. They might have said that they would, and at the moment been sincere in such a declaration, but moderation and victory do not often accompany each other, and as seldom at least, in civic contests, as military hostility. The demagogues of that day, would not have followed the chariot wheels of the members of a Convention, as the monitory attendant of the Conqueror in a Roman triumph, to recal him to himself, to control his pride, and mitigate his presumption; but they would have followed for the purposes of applauding their temerity, and extending their dominion. They would have taken care to tell them how near they were in their visitation to the House of Commons, to that of the Lords; and that they would do nothing if they did not dislodge some of the Bishops at least, or go a little further at once, and erect the standard of the Convention, on the ruins of episcopacy and aristocracy. To all such enlarged notions, or benevolent hints, of what an armed, successful Convention might, or ought to do, the assembly of which I now treat would not, perhaps, have immediately listened; at least, all the good and wise who sat there, would not; and I believe it is as certain that, in such a case, an equal portion of popular hatred would have attended the reformers, and the reformed; the Convention,

as well as the House of Commons. Another Convention would have arisen, or a secession from the old one taken place, and confusion would have been worse confounded.

That Conventions may be necessary, no one but a slave can deny. The history of the Revolution has proved it; but a repetition, or too frequent recurrence of such assemblies, may be dreaded, even by the most strenuous advocates for popular privilege; for the collective power of the people, by being brought in that manner perpetually into action, will naturally exhaust itself; it will lose all its fire, and cease to have that just, but regulated, controul over the democratic part of the legislature, which the genius and spirit of the Constitution most certainly invested it with. In truth, all liberty would be ultimately destroyed; for, if there is danger to be apprehended from any assembly, not strictly known to the Constitution, with whatever portion of the property, integrity, and wisdom of the country that assembly may be connected, there is, on the other hand, much, very much, to be dreaded from the unprincipled, obsequious servants of power, who, with the ardour of low-cunning, catch at the slightest errors of generous minds, and are enamoured with any irregularity of freedom, as, sooner or later, it enables them to give some wound to liberty itself.—What then, it may be asked, is to be done?—*Nec Deus intersit*, is as sound a precept, in the formation of such assemblies, as the construction of poetic machinery. Let them never be brought together, if the general sentiment does not, beyond all contradiction, loudly, yet gravely, and not unfrequently, proclaim, that the existence of the nation itself demands their interference. "The power of impeachment," said Lord Somers, once in the House of Commons,* "should be like Goliah's sword, kept in the temple, and not used but on great occasions." The same may be said of Conventions.

The reader who may not remember the days of this military convention will be naturally anxious to enquire, what sensation its adjournment, or rather indeed its downfall, excited? To the best of my recollection, little, or none whatever. This indifference can be accounted for;—its basis, from circumstances at that time, perhaps, insuperable, was altogether too narrow; the delegates did not, nor could they then include the Catholic body; yet, to talk

* See Grey's Debates.

of extending the right of suffrage wherever property was to be met with, and, at the same time, shut out the majority of the nation, was a strange contradiction. That the Catholics, therefore, should lament the extinction of an assembly, which, whilst it proposed to erect a temple of general freedom, could not bring them even within the vestibule, was not at all to be expected.—There were other reasons which had their influence on all thinking men, who stood aloof from the House of Commons as well as the Convention, and regarded the proceedings of both impartially.——This Convention was, independent of its military origin, which alone was sufficient to condemn it, the least justifiable of any Convention that ever sat in Ireland. It thought proper to meet, not only immediately after the Revolution of 1782, but directly, at the same time, with a new Parliament, whose character, or whose temper, on any subject, had not been tried at all; and superadded to that, the particular subject for the promotion of which the Convention now met, (a Parliamentary Reform,) had never, as a question of debate, been entertained by any House of Commons whatever in Ireland. So that here was a Revolution, a new Parliament treading on the heels of that Revolution, and a subject, totally novel, to be taken up by that Parliament. But, without having the patience to see what influence that Revolution would have on a new Parliament, or how far it might affect such a popular question particularly; and of course, having no possible pretext to say, that the petitions of the people were disregarded as to that point, (none indeed had been presented,) the Convention came instantly to a conflict with Parliament. The consequences were such as might be expected. Parliament stood on such 'vantage ground, that the Convention instantly broke down.

Some considerations may also be added to the above, which made much impression on part of the community, and must be enlarged on here. If it is necessary to animadvert, not unfrequently, on the misconduct of ministers, it is necessary also to take notice of the faults of the people. Despicable is that man, who, to sooth their ear, dwells with a malign and vulgar satisfaction on the errors of their rulers, and never touches on their own. In August, 1783, that is, three months before the meeting of the Convention in Dublin, the Parliament was dissolved, and a new one summoned to meet. Here, then, were the people called forth to act their part in the choice of new representatives. If it be sullenly said, that the system of representation circumscribed the popular

choice in too narrow limits, I accede to the proposition; but I beg to add, that it was not *so* bound in as to prevent its coming forth at all; *and it did not come forth.* Numerous as the boroughs were, still they did not overspread the entire field of elections; the counties and several free towns remained; yet most certain is it, that not one county, not one free town, or corporation,* throughout the kingdom, expressed their own or the people's gratitude, by electing any one of the eminent men who had so recently, and so gloriously, led them on to the best victory, the triumph of rational freedom. Nay, some country gentlemen, who had, in the late contest, acted a part the most independent, were thrown out. Let it be remembered too, that, some portions of the country had divided themselves into two parties. One was for simple repeal, as already stated; the other, for renunciation by Act of Parliament; and, according to the usual acerbity which distinguishes very unimportant feuds of mankind, they began to hate each other with almost as perfect cordiality as they hated the usurpations of the British Parliament. It might therefore be expected, by those who know what mankind really is, that party division would effectuate that which public spirit had neglected to do; and, as Mr. Flood was the renowned leader of one party, some place might be found where that party predominated, which would return him to Parliament with an air of superior gratitude and resplendent patriotism; in other words, with great apparent magnanimity, and much interior spite. No. Party was loquacious and venomous, and displayed itself in every shape, and every place, except where it should have most displayed itself, at the moment, that is, on the public Hustings.

Mr. Flood, and his illustrious rival, were obliged to wander, as far as elections extended, through this mist of popular oblivion, and find their way to Parliament in any manner they could. The Borough of Charlemont once more silently received Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Flood had great difficulty in finding any seat whatever. At this very moment were demagogues rushing forth from every corner in quest of a parliamentary reform, vociferating that the people could not elect a single friend of their's, and dissatisfied with all

* I do not include the county of Wexford, for instance, where Mr. Ogle, who had been one of the most strenuous advocates for the rights of the people, was again elected. But his strength was irresistible. The same may be said of Mr. Brownlow, and two or three more perhaps.

that had been done in both Parliaments, unless they could give a freer and more expanded utterance to the voice of the constituent, which voice, when called upon by the Constitution itself to speak, was, as to the chief upholders of that Constitution, no where to be heard. The inconsistency, the unreasonableness of such proceedings certainly disinclined many to the Convention, and they beheld its abrupt dissolution, not merely with unconcern, but satisfaction. It is proper to record such things. No people ever yet existed, of warmer hearts, and more lively gratitude, than the Irish. But the public here, as elsewhere, has its levity, its days, its months, of idle, arbitrary domination. And of all unreasonable expectations, what can be more so, than that the person who has embarked solely in their service, should proceed in his course, with either energy or efficacy, under the chill of their neglect, or the miserable uncertainty of their frowns or their smiles? The philosophic representative who knows what the people, the "fond many," have been, in all ages, may continue to serve them, unmoved by their clamours; but he who engages in public life, with equal purity of mind at first, but less firm purpose, will only encounter similar discouragements for a stated period; he will not wait for a return of their good humour. He is assailed, not so much by the minister, or avidity of increased income, as the suggestions of a wounded mind, of self-love, which tells him, that he may be more useful to his country in a ministerial, than popular connexion. At length, he abandons comparative poverty, caprice, and the crowd, for affluence, constancy, and the court. This is not the course of heroism, but how little heroism is, in truth, to be met with; and if that little finds not its natural reward in the sunshine of the people's general attachment, what right have the people to complain? With a few sentences more I shall close the subject of the Convention. It has led me further than I intended; but a sincere wish to guard my countrymen against the blandishments of every specious novelty must be my apology. They may rest assured, that the established forms of the Constitution embrace almost every possible mode of redress of public grievances; and that, impatiently to seek a new path, in quest of that which can certainly, though slowly, perhaps, be obtained, by pursuing the old parliamentary road, may dazzle their imaginations, and even recreate

their minds for a moment, but will only terminate in darkness and confusion. It has been said, that the majority which resisted Mr. Flood's motion was composed of the usual Swiss of the Castle, and the entire array of the borough-holders. But it was not so. The friends of one, or, I believe, two or three noblemen who had boroughs, voted with Mr. Flood. In the majority were many gentlemen totally unconnected with administration; who, on other occasions, voted against Lord Northington; and were unequivocally friends to the measure of a parliamentary reform, but objected to the bill then moved for, as originating from an armed assembly.* When Mr. Flood said, in the House of Commons, that his sentiments in favour of that bill were his own, and not borrowed elsewhere, Mr. D. Daly quickly, and justly replied; "I do not say, that they are not his own, but they are more notoriously the sentiments of the Convention." Being such, they form the entire justification of the House of Commons in refusing *leave even to bring* in the bill; for, unless some peculiar, and extraordinary circumstances imperiously demand such a negative, *in limine*, the House never adopts it. Their decision was as judicious as spirited. Had it acted otherwise, the reform then urged might have been called a parliamentary, but its only proper denomination would have been a military reform; and what that is, had former ages been as silent as they are instructive on the subject, the dread series of events which have taken place, since the days of the Convention, has most fatally promulgated to the world. But, if the timid acquiescence of the House, in the decrees of the Convention, had then established a precedent for submission, and left to the Commons neither name nor authority of any sort, however we might for ever deplore its imbecility, we cannot, on the other hand, applaud its almost continued resistance, during a variety of subsequent and tranquil periods, to the question of reform, when urged as constitutionally as ably. That reform required indeed all the

* Many gentlemen, as well as the Author of these Memoirs, must have seen a letter of Mr. Fox, then secretary of state, to the late General Burgoyne, at that time Commander in Chief, in Ireland, on the subject of the Convention. It was written with the spirit of a Patriot, and wisdom of a true Statesman. In his ardour for a parliamentary reform, he yielded, he said, to none of the Convention; but dreaded the consequences of such proceedings, and would, he added, lament it as the deepest misfortune of his life, if by any untoward steps then taken, and whilst he was minister, the two kingdoms should be separated, or run the slightest risque of separation.

aid which the wisest, and best senators could give to it; and had it been calmly, judiciously, and timely adopted, though it could not have averted every evil from this kingdom, the measure of our misfortunes would, in all probability, have been much less, and our own legislature remained unterrified, and unimpaired.

No particular cordiality had for some time subsisted between Lord Northington and Lord Charlemont. The introduction of Scott and Fitzgibbon, to place and power, had already, in some measure, alienated his Lordship from the Viceroy, and the Convention had alienated the Viceroy from Lord Charlemont. Matters soon came to a crisis. Lord Charlemont, for some time after the dissolution of the Convention, continued to attend the levees at the Castle. But he was received with such cold civility, that he discontinued his visits altogether. Mr. Brownlow was not spoken to when he went there. This behaviour, on the part of Lord Northington, was puerile and impolitic to the last degree. It is to be presumed, that some of the old court, who, in consequence of the Coalition, had crept once more into favour, influenced his conduct in this particular. He should have recollected, that Lord Charlemont had not set the Convention in motion, and that, if others had plunged it into excesses, his good sense and regained ascendancy over that assembly, drew it forth from the abyss into which it had partly fallen. In acting so, he had done the State essential service. He was aided, on that occasion, by the pacific, salutary councils of Mr. Brownlow, as well as other gentlemen, and they should have been thanked, not frowned upon for their conduct. But in politics there is no medium. It is melancholy to reflect on that perverseness of mankind, which so often baffles every effort of those who are most disposed to serve them. Though the Convention was perfectly convinced of Lord Charlemont's disinterestedness, and honest zeal in its service, the majority of the delegates, at a moment the most important, deserted him, and went forth to contend with the legislature of their country. When he had over-ruled all tumult, and by his direct influence prevented any breach between them and Government, the chief of that government met him with such an alienated mien, as almost proclaimed him an anarchist. A strange world this!

When Lord Northington opened the session of 1783, every thing, at

first, appeared perfectly tranquil. But there was soon an opposition to his Administration. It consisted partly of several persons totally unconnected with the court, some young members of very promising talents, who had never before sat in Parliament, Sir Laurence Parsons,* particularly Mr. Arthur Browne, and others. Mr. Curran also, who had come into the House of Commons on the general election, joined this opposition. But the persons, the most hostile to Lord Northington's Administration, were some gentlemen, who openly professed themselves attached to Mr. Pitt, the Grenvilles, and, in short, the English opposition. In this, there was nothing disreputable or improper. Some few sessions however afterwards, when those same persons supported the court system, as if not only they, but their auditors, had been in the habit of drinking the Waters of Lethe, and forgotten all that was said or done, the constant theme of their lamentable declamation was, that all English parliamentary connections, or, acting with any view to English opposition, (no matter how congenial the principles of two parties at this, and the other side of the water, might be,) were in the highest degree reprehensible, and injurious to the interests of Ireland. This band, with the gentlemen before-mentioned, acted in opposition, but not always in concert, and formed altogether, a most miscellaneous, and therefore inefficient association, considering the parts and industry of some who composed it. Mr. Flood was generally at their head, and sometimes fancied that he was, when in fact, he was not, for nothing could be more opposite than his mode of thinking to the political creed of a few of those gentlemen. Several of this opposition acted, however, to my knowledge, from principles of sound patriotism. But after a short campaign of about six weeks, Mr. Flood, as already mentioned, went to England, and entered the lists against the India bill, when his reputation, as an orator, suffered a transient eclipse; not, however, that sad and lengthened one, which prejudiced, illiberal scoffers, were so malignantly impatient to proclaim to the friends of Ireland. But those who dared to think for themselves, turned from such scoffers with disdain, and towards Flood, with no diminished admiration.

The Coalition Ministry was now overset in its turn. A Ministry which, in my humble opinion, had it been permitted to remain, could have done many and good services to the State. But the swell and agitation of the American war had not then subsided, and during such a tumultuous period, no

* Now Earl of Ross.

nation was ever yet much disposed to reflection. To the general mass of the people, the transition, from hostility to intimate union, between two violent political opponents, seemed abrupt, sudden, and only made from an unblushing avidity of place and power. That great parliamentary leaders should look to both, is certainly very natural, but that the statesmen in question acted solely from such motives, or were incapable of making genuine sacrifices to the public weal, I never can suppose. Still, however, the fair opinions, or even prejudices, of the more sober part of the community, are by no means to be contemned, and the junction between Lord North and Mr. Fox might, at a day more remote, have been formed, not only without furious obloquy, but almost without observance. But if they were unguarded, the people were unreasonable. It seemed to be *their* determination, that they should *not* agree ; and, however soothing returning amity might be to the usual feelings of mankind, the nation was to be indulged by a promulgation of perpetual war between two Statesmen, the most accessible, as their basest foes have since reluctantly acknowledged, to every humane and generous sentiment. Not only recollecting, but republishing every angry and contumelious expression that had fallen from Mr. Fox in the violence of an almost ten years' parliamentary warfare; those enemies boldly declared that, as he and the noble Lord had differed on one subject, then for ever closed, it was impossible that they could agree on any other whatever. Such was the language held at this period, and it was successful. Many excellent men, however, Lord John Cavendish, and others, were not to be swayed by it. They adhered to the Ex-Statesmen, and the approbation of such ornaments to their country should, by a mind that reflects justly, be regarded as, at least, a full equivalent for the loss of power.

Lord Northington now shared the fate of his friends, and retired from the Lieutenancy of Ireland. The Duke of Rutland succeeded him. Young, and not conversant in business, but amiable, generous, and convivial, he became, from his first coming here, the favourite of the higher orders of the State, and would have been equally so with the lower, had not one or two questions been agitated directly after his arrival, which in Parliament excited no commotion, but were eagerly laid hold on by some untoward spirits without doors, to aid that cause of mischief and sedition, which they so perversely maintained. On that subject a word or two hereafter. The

Duke's court was magnificent; a succession of various entertainments took place, over which the presence of the Duchess of Rutland, then, confessedly, one of the most beautiful women perhaps in Europe, diffused an animation and radiance totally unexampled. Social pleasures, (so congenial to the disposition of the Irish) were agreeably cultivated; the good cheer of the table was applauded even by its most renowned votaries, and altogether it was a season of much indulgence. The Duke's Secretary, Mr. Orde, (now Lord Bolton,) was good-humoured, polite, and attended as much, perhaps more, to business than the delicacy of his health would always permit. As the Lord Lieutenant came in the midst of a session, some questions which had been introduced in the Earl of Northington's time, pursued their course. Among other matters it was proposed to give such a duty to some manufactures, and the materials of manufactures here, as would have produced a war of prohibitory duties between England and this country, had the proposition been adopted. The House of Commons rejected the scheme, as crude, indigested, and totally impolitic. But some intelligent men on both sides of the House thought, that some commercial system would be necessary; and it was agreed, that such a system should be considered, and submitted to the House early the next session. Mr. Flood returned from England, and brought in another bill of Parliamentary Reform, which was not at all relished even by those who were very sincere advocates for that measure. It was consequently rejected.

The failure of these two questions was, during the summer, fatal to the tranquillity of the metropolis. Every rational person must acknowledge, that if any favoured proposition is to be directly consigned to the disposal of the multitude, because it is not implicitly and instantly adopted by Parliament, misrule and anarchy must supersede all wise and salutary government. There is an eternal difference between the great body of the people, calmly and constitutionally adopting a great question, and particular, unauthorised bodies of men assembling capriciously together, and, by menace and uproar, attempting to force a rejected question on the legislature. It is the duty of the people to await with respect the solemn decisions of Parliament; but to raise a standard against Parliament for its first, or any vote on questions concerning the propriety of which the most unbiassed persons may entertain a diversity

of sentiments, is a species of conduct in which it it difficult to say, whether guilt or madness most predominates. Yet such was the conduct of some persons in Dublin at this time. The city was thrown into violent confusion. The Duke of Rutland was, on his appearance at the theatre, (his first too I believe,) hooted and insulted, as if he had been a Verres, an ancient inveterate foe to the people. He was here not many weeks at that time. Some agitators wrote circular letters to the different sheriffs, requiring them to elect persons to sit in a particular assembly, or another Parliament in fact, to be held in Dublin. Whatever objections might have been made to the mode in which Mr. Fitzgibbon, then Attorney-General, prosecuted the Sheriff of the County of Dublin; a worthy man, but who was so ill advised as to comply with this insane writ of sedition; no good member of a well-regulated community, can deny his suffrage to the spirit, and even wisdom, with which the Attorney acted upon that occasion. The meeting which the Sheriffs of the city of Dublin convened for the like purpose of an illegitimate election was, by his timely admonition, dispersed, and the quiet of the state so far preserved. However his general system of politics may be disapproved, candour demands this tribute to his memory. Such was the whirlwind of faction, and uproar, which the Duke of Rutland met almost on his entrance into the Viceroyalty. But he inherited the gallant spirit of his father, and rode out the storm. The rage of that storm was not however felt beyond the metropolis. It was the mischievous frenzy of the tribunes of the city, not the constitutional opposition of the leaders of the country. Lord Charlemont was at this time reviewing his Volunteers. Had he been on the spot, his rebuke at the moment would have only confirmed, and extended audacity; and it was best, perhaps, to show to the people, the feebleness and short existence of all commotion, originally set on by persons who are more willing to aspire to rebellion, than able to sustain, or to propagate it. In truth, the rulers of states themselves can alone afford permanent materials for rebellion to subsist on.

The Session of 1785 was very important; but this is not the place for its history, or that of the celebrated commercial propositions, which occupied almost the whole of it, and extended the sitting of Parliament to an unusual length. Those who read the Memoirs now before them with attention,

(if such Memoirs are entitled to attention,) need scarcely be told, that on the 10th of August, 1785, the commercial propositions, which had been returned, much altered by the British Parliament, were debated in the Irish House of Commons, with a spirit of freedom, liberal investigation, and eloquence by some, and great dexterity of argument and commercial knowledge by others, which reflected no small lustre on the talents and independence of Ireland. The opposition was indeed a minority, but a minority from numbers, property, and intellect, so entirely respectable, that Mr. Orde most wisely did not go beyond that day in the prosecution of his system. It was not renewed. But the subject cannot be departed from, without taking some notice, however imperfect, of the uncommon energy of reasoning, and sublimity of eloquence, which Mr. Grattan displayed. His audience, which had been long accustomed to his oratorial powers, was amazed; and those who had never heard him before, were lost in their admiration of such uncommon rhetorical excellence. This speech was, I think, the last great triumph of his genius in the House of Commons, and perhaps superior to all that preceded it. Some gentlemen who opposed him, manifested peculiar industry of research, and powers of understanding. Mr. Foster, Mr. Fitzgibbon, are chiefly to be distinguished. Lord Charlemont was particularly adverse to the propositions, but, as is well known, they never reached the upper House of Parliament.

Early in 1786, Lord Charlemont was placed in a situation as new as agreeable to him. He was elected President of that learned, and truly respectable body, the Irish academy, then incorporated under the auspices of his Majesty. The erudite and ingenious author of the preface to the first volume of the transactions of the Academy, has briefly, but clearly stated the causes which, till then, operated against the permanent establishment of any such learned society in Ireland. To cultivate literature, if disposition was sometimes wanting here, genius never was. Dissimilarity of habits, afterwards of religion, between the ancient inhabitants and the new comers, would, although direct hostility had ceased, check any cordial, general co-operation, even in those arts the most immediately necessary to the improvement of rising society; and science could only spring up, dubious and languid, during the short intervals of our repose from civic and religious contests. As the connection between the two countries became more stabilitated, and rational society more advanced in both kingdoms, even our

vicinity to England, as the author alluded to justly observes, however it daily added to many a useful art, was, to a certain degree, injurious to literature in Ireland, as those who cultivated it most sedulously, would naturally look to a country, where it was more expanded, and its votaries more rewarded. As it was near to England, so was it remote from other countries; and that sequestered situation, which made Ireland, "L'Ultima Irlanda," as Tasso says, once the seat of undisturbed learning in the west, was now equally hostile to scientific improvement, except such as England imparted, being unapproached by any, or certainly, very few enlightened, foreign visitants. Physical, therefore, as well as moral causes, combated against us. Still, however, the genius of the country was not torpid even at home, and it would gladly have come forth, at the bidding of such men as Molyneux, the associate of Locke and Sir William Petty, who, towards the close of Charles the Second's reign, endeavoured to establish a society here, on a foundation similar to that of the illustrious royal society in London.

"But war unsheathed the sword, and purple gore
"Stained the fair silver of the limpid wave."*

The arbitrary domination of Louis the Fourteenth, was opposed, and the rights of a free people were established on the banks of the Boyne; but science fled from such scenes, and the labours of philosophy were in vain. The society was no more heard of. From that day various, but private literary societies have appeared, and faded away in Dublin. Almost every one of them, as well as the present Royal Academy, arose under the parent wing of the University, as most of the original academicians belonged to that venerable seminary, or had the honour of receiving their education within its walls. May both long flourish!

The Irish academy "unites in one plan the three compartments of science, polite literature, and antiquities; whatever is pleasing, with whatever is useful; the advancement of speculative knowledge with the history of mankind; it makes provision for the capricious variations of literary pursuit, and embrac-

* See some very elegant verses on the nuptials of his Majesty, by Mr. Hussey Burgh, afterwards Lord Chief Baron, and written by him when a fellow commoner of Trinity college, Dublin; they were published with other congratulatory poems written on that occasion, by some of the young gentlemen of the university.

ing all the objects of rational enquiry, it secures the co-operation of the learned of every description."* When this respectable body placed Lord Charlemont in the chair, he did not regard it as a mere honorary distinction, to add to the solemn enumeration of his dignities at the Herald's office, and nothing to literature. Not one of the members attended the academy meetings oftener than he did; few so constantly. Those who were his cotemporary academicians must long call to mind his urbanity, the graces of his conversation, and the variety of literary anecdote, ancient or modern, with which he amused, and indeed instructed them, during the intervals of their agreeable labours at the academy. In such labours he bore himself no inglorious part; and, in their first session, he favoured them with an essay, drawn from no common sources, in which he undertakes to prove, from an Italian author, Fazio Delli Uberti, a nobleman of Florence, who flourished not long after Dante, the antiquity of the woollen manufacture in Ireland.† It is recorded of some of our countrymen, that the severe blow which that manufacture sustained, somewhat more than a century ago, was owing to their boast of its extent and prosperous condition.‡ Had Lord Charlemont lived in those days, he would have defended its privileges with no less ardour as a senator, than in the present he traced its history with the ingenuity of a learned academician.

We must now attend him to the camp. The reviews of the Volunteers were continued as usual this year and the succeeding one. But he observes, in one of his letters, that they were not then of the same numbers as formerly. His solicitude with regard to this institution was the same; and if he continued the reviews, when the same reasons did not exist, or at least with

* See the preface to the Transactions of the Academy.

† The work, from a passage of which Lord Charlemont formed the materials of his essay, is an old Italian poem, called, Dittamondi. The first edition of it was printed at Vicenza, 1474.

‡ Mr. Hutchinson (Secretary of State for Ireland) says, that he more than once, heard Lord Chancellor Bowes mention a conversation that he had with Sir Robert Walpole, on the subject of the woollen manufactory in Ireland; who assured him, that the restraints imposed on it by the English parliament, had at first taken their rise from the vauntings of several Irish gentlemen, of the great success of that manufacture in this Kingdom.—*See his Commercial Restrictions of Ireland.*

diminished force, for such military exhibitions, as some years before, it was because he not only wished that a certain portion of the inhabitants of this country should be habituated to the use of arms, but well knew, (as has been often mentioned,) that if he relinquished the command of even this remnant of the volunteer bands, there were not then wanting some who would seize on it for purposes by no means so patriotic as his own. It was more wise therefore to suffer the Volunteers to fade away tacitly under his quiet, auspicious rule, than that they should receive ill-timed, or angry, orders from the Castle for their dispersion, which they not only would not have obeyed, but perhaps have recalled some of their former associates from their pacific, rural occupations, to engage in an unnecessary contest with government, which could have little redounded to the honour of either party, and most injuriously to the country. The following slight extracts are taken from two of his letters to Haliday, relating to the Belfast reviews, and his residence, during their continuance, at that gentleman's house.

Dublin, May 31, 1787.

"You are perfectly right, my dearest doctor, to make a virtue of necessity, and to request that, which my military spirit would now prompt me to take as a right by prescription, having worn a red coat long enough to imbibe some of its influence, at least so far as to endeavour where I have found good quarters, to make my quarters good. There was a time, when I was really ashamed to give you so much trouble, but those bashful days are now past, and I begin to think modesty degrading to a veteran as I am.—I have indeed been robbed, but I am too good a patriot to repine at sharing the fate of my country."*

Marino, July 21, 1787.

"No sooner are you rid of the trouble which always accompanies my presence, than the plague of my correspondence commences; neither do I now write to thank you for all your repeated kindnesses, as the common course of ceremony would seem to require. Ceremony, thank fate, cannot possibly have a place in our connection.

"I left my broken coach at Drogheda, and rattled on in a common chaise,

* Charlemont-House had been robbed, I believe, of some articles.

which also broke down before my arrival. Fortune de la Guerre!"—— Mr. Francis, now Sir Philip, visited Ireland in the course of the summer, as appears from part of Mr. Burke's correspondence with Lord Charlemont, which relates to that gentleman, and, what was dear to Lord Charlemont's heart, a bust or likeness of his lost friend, the Marquis of Rockingham.

Gerrard-street, June 1, 1787.

My Dear Lord,

I have an high respect for your Lordship of old, as I trust you know; and as I have the best wishes for my friend, Mr. Francis, I am exceedingly desirous that he should have an opportunity of paying his compliments to the person in Ireland the most worthy the acquaintance of a man of sense and virtue. Mr. Francis has not been in Ireland since the days of his childhood, but he has been employed in a manner that does honour to the country that has given him birth. When he sees your Lordship, he will perceive that ancient morals have not yet deserted at least that part of the world which he revisits, and you will be glad to receive for a while a citizen that has only left his country, to be the more extensively serviceable to mankind. May I beg your Lordship to make my most respectful and most affectionate compliments, and those of Mrs. Burke, and my son, and all that are of our little family, to Lady Charlemont. I hope that Mr. Francis will bring back such an account of the health of your Lordship, and all your's, as may make us happy.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord,

With the most cordial attachment,

Your most affectionate and obliged friend,

And faithful servant,

Edm. Burke.

Beconsfield, July 19, 1787.

My Dear Lord,

Mr. Francis called upon me in his way to his own house, charmed, as I expected he would be, with your character and conversation, and infinitely obliged by your reception of him. Give me leave to convey his thanks to

you, and to add mine to them.—Every motive induces me to wish your house provided with all the ornaments that are worthy of it; the bust you desire is that which is most essential, and that in which you combine your taste, your friendship, and your principles. When I go to town, I shall see Mr. Nollekens, and hasten him as much as I can; there was no bust taken from Lord Rockingham during his life time. This is made from a masque taken from his face after his death, and of course must want that animation which I am afraid can never be given to it, without hazarding the ground work of the features. Tassie has made a profile in his glass, which is, I think, the best likeness, I mean uncoloured likeness, which exists. I will recommend it to Nollekens; perhaps he may make some advantage of it; though I have observed that artists seldom endeavour to profit of each other's works, though not in the exact line which they profess.

Believe me, with the most cordial affection,
My dear Lord, your Lordship's
Most faithful, and obliged humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

Lord Charlemont's days, at this time, passed away in a general tranquillity. The country was, with some very slight interruptions, quiet and composed. It advanced fast in prosperity. The commercial propositions had occasioned no small ferment; but as they were timely withdrawn, that ferment subsided. They occasioned, however, a schism, and division in the House of Commons, which, till that question was agitated, the House had not known during the Duke's administration. The opposition, however, was very inconsiderable, as to other questions, and conducted without acrimony, much less malevolence. On Mr. Forbes's pension bill, when first introduced, the minority did not exceed 26, or thereabouts. That question, however, took place before the celebrated one of the propositions, and after the *last*-mentioned debate, no question was discussed of the slightest importance, except that which related to the police establishment of the city of Dublin. Some members carried on what was then termed, and justly, a *Petite Guerre*, or inconsiderable parliamentary warfare, against government. The phrase was adopted by some of the leaders of the Opposition themselves, to express their dislike

of such insignificant, though sometimes irritating proceedings, and *they* of course took no part in them.

Sometime after the close of the session of 1787, the Duke of Rutland visited the north of Ireland. He was magnificently received by the Marquis of Downshire, the Earl of Moira, and some other noblemen and gentlemen. Belfast displayed great loyalty and hospitality on this occasion, and made a most superb entertainment for his Grace, which, as I remember, seemed to afford him much satisfaction. When the memory of Lord Russell was given as a toast, he arose, and with a warmth of feeling, which it was impossible not to partake of, said that he was truly flattered by the memory of that excellent person being then drank, not only as Lord Russell's political principles were his own, but he prided himself, and such pride of ancestry he hoped was laudable, on being that great patriot's immediate descendant. One circumstance relative to the Duke, during this tour, I shall take leave to mention, however trivial, as it eminently shews the miserable uncertainty, and emptiness of human expectation. As he walked up and down the noble library at Lord Moira's, some gentlemen, as I well recollect, took notice to each other of the remarkable compactness, and strength of his frame, which seemed to indicate great health, and peculiar longevity. But a fever, the consequence of too much conviviality, must have begun, even then, to undermine him, and immediately after his return to Dublin, closed his days in the very summer of life, and the midst of worldly grandeur. He was somewhat more than three and thirty. He died greatly regretted, by his own domestics, friends, and connections, particularly so; and the funeral ceremonial which attended his remains from the chamber, adjoining the House of Lords, where they lay in state, to the water side, did honour to the taste and feelings of those who planned it. As a procession it was perhaps unrivalled; but the silent, and decorous sorrow of the multitudes that witnessed it, diffused an affecting grace, and soothing solemnity over every object, beyond the reach of the most refined pageantry.

The Marquis of Buckingham (formerly Earl Temple) was appointed successor to the much-lamented Duke, and Lords Justices were nominated till his arrival. When he came once more to Dublin, as Lord Lieutenant, the people seemed to vie with each other in giving him welcome. Lord Charlemont went again to the Castle, which he had not visited after the

debate on the famous propositions, and perhaps not often before. But he always mentioned the Duke of Rutland with respect, and even tenderness. His letters to Haliday will best speak his sentiments at this juncture.

Dublin, January 4, 1788.

" —— Now to answer seriously the question you have so comically put. It is most true that, during the late administration, I seldom attended the Privy Council, because I did not chuse to assist at measures which I disapproved, and could not oppose with any possibility of effect. It is also true, as reported by the news printers, who do me a most unmerited honour in giving importance to an occurrence so perfectly trifling, that, since the arrival of our new Viceroy, I have some time attended at council, because there was a probability that the above-mentioned reason might no longer exist, and because it is a maxim with me, that every new Lord Lieutenant should be well received, and narrowly watched. The Marquis of Buckingham certainly merited a good reception. During the short time he was here, his attention to business was miraculous, and its effects began already to be felt. Defaulters were ferreted out of their most secret holes, and there was every reason to hope, that had his administration lasted, the honey of our hive would have been no longer a prey to drones and wasps. A surgeon's aid was necessary, and we had reason to expect, from our present operator, skill, care, and boldness. So far for his reception; which, however, I am free to confess, was in my opinion, too extravagant. Respecting his future administration, time alone can discover its tendency. I have however no reason to think that he means any harm. But from what I have said, you will readily conclude, that I, for my own part, keep myself clear from, in any degree, pledging connection, and that while I give no peevish opposition, from which indeed I have ever been averse, I am ready upon any occasion to oppose strenuously. If Lord Buckingham comes over, unincumbered by any project, he will make an excellent Lord Lieutenant."

This administration did, in fact, move on with almost unexampled tranquillity. The Viceroy was most laudably employed, as Lord Charlemont

justly observed, in correcting some of the many abuses which had crept into the public offices, an Herculean labour! and the obliging manners, and honourable conduct of his secretary, Mr. Fitzherbert,* were held in universal estimation. So remarkably calm indeed was the session of 1788, so unruffled by any thing like violent parliamentary contests, that, as it is often the hard fate of unostentatious goodness to be denominated stupid, this session was by some exclaimed against, as intolerably dull, and uninteresting, because it was not distinguished by any impassioned debate, or violent hostility of party. There was one class of men to whom, I can well remember, it appeared of the most lamentable nature, and the continuance of such inauspicious serenity was, by them, deprecated with an unfeigned, and truly piteous fervour. Their distress was indeed ridiculous, as the cause of it could not be openly declared, though it was generally known. The fact was, they were not employed, their suffrages were not called for, and in proportion to the paucity, of what may be called tormenting questions, in the House of Commons, the pretences of besieging Lord Buckingham, or Mr. Fitzherbert for offices were diminished. This session, therefore, to them was a session of parliamentary famine, and the opposition was tacitly accused of starving them, because no question was brought forward, which could display the hardihood of those gentlemen in debate, or their impatience for the rewards of that hardihood at the Castle.† The charge, therefore, against the opposition, differed totally from the general accusations preferred against them. They were not said to endanger public

* Now Lord St. Helens.

† Such secret lamentations among some of the minor statesmen, and ministerial members, were not confined to the period I allude to. Many years preceding it, a gentleman mentioned, in the course of his speech in the House of Commons, that a person, who always voted with government, and when he spoke, constantly insulted the opposition on account of the thinness of their ranks, was observed one night, when the minority was going into the lobby on a division, to stand near a friend of his, who composed part of that minority, and with great earnestness exclaimed to him; "The Lord increase your questions, the Lord increase your numbers, I shall never be a commissioner of the revenue, or any thing else at this rate."

tranquillity, but they gave no unnecessary molestation to government, and were therefore guilty, according to some persons, of the most inexpiable crime.

Thus matters stood at the close of the session of 1788, which was as limited as tranquil. On the 16th of July, Lord Charlemont revisited Belfast as usual, and once more reviewed the volunteer army. The review was not attended by any thing novel or uncommon. But the county of Armagh, of which Lord Charlemont was governor, was at this time the scene of sanguinary outrage and religious discord. All this contention is said to have arisen from an accidental quarrel between two Presbyterians, in which a Roman Catholic espoused one of the parties. This idle fray was productive of much rancour where they resided, and a contemptible village warfare gradually expanded itself into hostilities, which pervaded the whole, or most part of the county. One half of the infuriated contests, which set kingdom against kingdom, and in proportion as they rise in absurdity and horror, are decorated with all the gaudy epithets which the lyric, the tragic, or epic muse can bestow on them, have not often a more honourable origin. The Protestant, or Presbyterian parties were denominated Peep of Day Boys, as they often visited the houses of the Catholics at break of day, to search for arms; and the latter were styled Defenders. Much blood was shed on both sides. Lord Charlemont proceeded from Belfast to Armagh, and endeavoured, as far as in his power, to restore tranquillity. "The situation," says he, writing to Dr. Haliday,* "in which I found the county of Armagh, has given me much uneasiness. I have, however, laboured to pacify all sides, and to allay that rancorous hate which existed between the parties. My labours, I trust, have had the desired effect; and I have reason to believe that all disturbance is now at an end. How strange is the inconstancy of the people. A few years ago I was compelled to hazard all my popularity to prevent the protestants from ruining themselves, and their country, by giving up all to the Catholics; and now I am forced to a risque of the same popularity, to prevent them from cutting each others throats." All disturbance, however, was not at an end. His Lordship's benign

* Dublin, August 1, 1788.

interposition at this time, produced only a temporary suspension of wretched hostility, which, as I shall have occasion perhaps to state hereafter, broke out again with increased fury, and was productive of the most unhappy effects.

From this time till the winter, Lord Charlemont continued either in town, or at Marino,* enjoying the society of his friends, or engaged in literary occupations. His house was uniformly open to all who had any claim on his attention, either from similarity of constitutional principles, or their cultivation of those pleasing and liberal studies which, in general, employed his mind, and were his most agreeable, though too often, only momentary refuge. Every foreigner, of taste congenial to his own, and every Englishman of rank and talents, visited him during their occasional residence in Dublin. Among those who became known to him at this time, was Mr. Cholmondeley, the friend of Doctor Johnson, now (1804) Chief Commissioner of the Customs. "I am happy," thus he writes to his friend Haliday, Sept. 20th, 1788; "that you saw Cholmondeley, and that he saw you. Upon so short an acquaintance I never yet liked any man more, and therefore hear with pleasure, that he did not disapprove of my reception." It may not be improper to state here, what Mr. Burke once said to me of this accomplished nobleman: "Lord Charlemont is a man of such polished manners, of a mind so truly adorned, and disposed to the adoption of whatever is excellent and praise-worthy, that, to see and converse with him, would alone induce me, or might induce any one who relished such qualities, to pay a visit to Dublin."

Towards the approach of winter, an event the most melancholy, and fraught with consequences the most important to the well-being of these kingdoms, took place in England. His Majesty, (so it pleased Providence,) was seized with a malady peculiarly grievous and afflicting. The grief which spread through every class of his subjects, when the nature of the disorder was more fully ascertained, and unequivocally declared, cannot be described in terms sufficiently adequate. For several weeks all was anxiety and sorrow, and every one looked to the meeting of Parliament with the

* His elegant Villa, near Dublin.

most heart-felt impatience. The two Houses met at Westminster on the 20th of November, 1788, when they unanimously adjourned to the 4th of December. The physicians who attended his Majesty were, in the mean time, examined before the Privy Council, who all agreed, as to his utter inability to meet Parliament, of the uncertain duration of his complaint, and the probability that, in time, it would be removed. On the 4th of December the Houses met again, when the minutes of the Privy Council were read, and Monday the 8th was fixed on for taking them into consideration. Commitees of both Houses were, on that day, appointed to examine the physicians. They brought up their report on the 10th, when Mr. Pitt moved, "That a committee be appointed to examine the journals of the House, and report precedents of such proceedings as may have been had in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same." This resolution was objected to by Mr. Fox, as only tending to create delay. That there was then an Heir Apparent to the Crown, of full age and understanding, and in his, Mr. Fox's opinion, it was clear that, during the suspension of the exercise of the royal authority from incapacity, the Heir Apparent, situated as the Prince of Wales then was, had as just a claim to the exercise of kingly power, during such incapacity, as if the Crown had naturally demised. This position Mr. Pitt utterly denied, and in a lofty tone declared, "That to advance such a claim or right in the Prince, or any one, without the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, was a species of treason to the Constitution."

It is not the part of such a work as this, to detail or enter into the debates which arose in the British Parliament on this important question; a question, as will appear hereafter, of the deepest concernment to Ireland. Suffice it to state here, that, notwithstanding the Prince did not advance any claim, and that a large party in both Houses, in conjunction with the Dukes of York and Gloucester, who delivered their sentiments on this occasion, deprecated the discussion of any such question, it was brought forward, and the exclusive right of both Houses of Parliament to supply the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, was asserted by considerable majorities. The proceedings subsequent to this business, Mr. Pitt's

letter to the Prince of Wales, the answer of his Royal Highness, in every respect so dignified and so becoming ;* his nomination to the Regency, with the limitations and restrictions annexed to the discharge of that high trust, are all amply detailed elsewhere. They are necessarily touched on here, as leading to, and forming a considerable part of that great business of the Regency, which called forth the powers of the Irish Parliament, and in whose proceedings Lord Charlemont took such an honourable and conspicuous a part. The meeting of the Irish Legislature was deferred as long as it could possibly be. Every effort was made to secure a majority for Government, and in vain. Most of the gentlemen who had always voted with opposition, and many who, on this occasion, left the Viceroy, proposed to Lord Charlemont to call a general meeting of such as were adverse to the proceedings in the British Parliament. A large party therefore of the Members of both Houses, met at Charlemont-House, on the 3d of February, 1789. In two days after, the session was at length opened by Lord Buckingham. The speech was necessarily short; it mentioned the King's illness in the most proper and dutiful terms, and concluded with declaring his Excellency's confidence in that affectionate attachment to his Majesty, and zealous concern for the united interests of both kingdoms which had manifested itself in all their proceedings. The first division in the House of Commons sufficiently displayed the temper of that assembly; and the faint prospect of their proceedings on this occasion being studiously assimilated to those of the British Parliament, the Secretary (Mr. Fitzherbert) moved, that the House should go into a committee, to take the state of the nation into consideration, on Monday the 16th of February. Instead of that day, Wednesday the 11th was proposed by Mr. Grattan, and carried by a majority of 54; the numbers being 128 to 74. The same preponderance against administration prevailed in the House of Lords.

The Houses met accordingly on the 11th. On the part of administration it was proposed, that they should wait the proceedings of the British

* It is admirably written, and, independent of the just, and constitutional sentiments which it breathes, deserves almost to be studied as a composition.

Parliament, and the complete investiture of the Prince of Wales as Regent; that they should proceed by bringing in a bill to recognize him as Regent here, and not by address; that nothing could be effectually or legally done, until it was ascertained in whose hands the Great Seal of England was, as by the act, generally called Lord Chief Baron Yelverton's Act, the Great Seal was rendered necessary to the passing any Irish law; so much so, that if the King of England was here in person, he could not give his assent to any Irish bill, till it had been returned to Ireland under the Great Seal of England; that this was the bond of union and connection with Great Britain; that the regent of England might, when in possession of that instrument, and perhaps would, supersede any regent made by the Parliament of Ireland; that the 23d of Henry 8th, for ever annexed the Crown of Ireland to that of England; it was made on a particular occasion; when the House of Fitzgerald, and the House of Butler, espousing different parties, had plunged Ireland into civil commotion; that this act did not apply merely to the Monarch, or the person who wore the crown, but to whoever was in possession of the executive power in England; that the chief executive magistrate in England, and Ireland, should be one and the same person, or in other words, the Regent of England was, in every respect, the Regent of Ireland; that the address of the two Houses conferred no power; and that, to proceed in any other manner than that now proposed, would tend to a separation from, and complete disunion with England.

These were the leading points adduced by Lord Buckingham's Ministry, chiefly indeed by Mr. Fitzgibbon, then Attorney-General, and were sustained by him with no ordinary ability.

On the other side, it was answered; that to proceed by bringing in a bill, was on the supposition, that there was then a third person in a capacity to act; but by address it was proposed to make an efficient third estate, in order to legislate; that the address then to be moved, was copied from an address voted by the Convention Parliament to the Prince of Orange, desiring him to take on himself the conduct of public affairs, which address was afterwards followed by a bill giving to the whole the form of law, and so it was intended to proceed in the case before them; that

there were some points in which the revolution was like the present period; in others it was different; the throne was then vacant, at present it was filled; but as in both cases there was a suspension of the royal authority, it was the duty of the two Houses, as at the Revolution, to restore immediately the exercise of the Regal power; an address, therefore, was the most direct mode of doing so; the necessity was urgent, protection was the source of allegiance; that resorting to the Great Seal of England was, for obvious reasons, inexpedient; if they could not appoint a regent by an Act of Parliament directly, they ought not to do it fictitiously; that the present situation of the country did not appear to have been in the contemplation of the legislature of either country, at any period; that the great object of the chief Baron's bill, which had been held out *in terrorem* to the two Houses of Parliament, was to prevent the alteration of bills by the Privy Council; that it was denied, that the King of England, if at the Castle of Dublin, could not give the royal assent. The Great Seal of England would not then be necessary as a sign of his approbation; that, if the address of the two Houses on such an emergency could convey no power, then the two Houses of Parliament in England, could convey no power to the Prince of Orange. But did they not call on him to take on himself the direction of public affairs, though they positively at that moment declared, that the throne was not vacant? What then became of the assertion, that the Prince of Wales could not act on such powers? He would act under the only powers competent to call him to the government; he therefore not only had a right, but ought to act. If the two Houses of the British Parliament claimed such powers, the Irish, being equally independent, might claim similar privileges. The act of Henry 8th annexing the crown of Ireland to that of England, did not apply to the present question, unless it was affirmed, that the regency of Ireland was inseparably annexed to that of England, which no one would venture to affirm. The act of Henry the 8th set forth the reason of its being made, in order to raise in the mind of the people the authority of the lord thereof; the lordship was created into an imperial crown, annexed to, not merged in, that of Great Britain; but annexation was here attempted to be melted down into dependence, and dependence into extinction. —The connection was said to be in danger. How? By resorting to the line of succession. To the Heir apparent with irresistible claims, and the *already* declared

choice of Great Britain. Was it by giving him full regal authority? All limitations, all restrictions were given up, even by the ministry, or its leader in Ireland, as totally unnecessary here. It was impossible therefore, though both Houses of the Irish parliament wished it, that the mode of proceedings should be precisely the same. They were accused of precipitancy. How? By appointing the Prince regent, at this day, some months after the royal indisposition, after the first meeting of the British Parliament on this unhappy business; nay, after his Royal Highness had accepted the regency;* as, to make use of his own words, the safety and interests of the people must be endangered by a long suspension of the exercise of the royal authority. But the resolutions of the British Parliament, in fact, declare that any person whatever is equally eligible with the Prince, as regent. If, therefore, instead of the Royal Family wearing the Irish Crown, the people are directed to contemplate, as the object of their affection, an officer with the Great Seal in his hand, will the advocate for such doctrine answer for the affections of his Majesty's subjects of Ireland? If, according to that resolution, England would chuse, not the Prince of Wales, but another person regent, England would first go astray, and then accuse Ireland of promoting disunion. But, as both Parliaments concurred in the great object, the Regent, Ireland was not, nor could be, committed with England. No reflection was meant to be cast on the wisdom of the British Parliament, or its measures, and the deliberations of the two Countries were governed by their respective circumstances.

Such were the arguments, in substance at least, which were used on this momentous question. To some the detail may appear tedious; but the whole proceedings of this singular period are closely interwoven with the history of Lord Charlemont, and they derive even a superior interest from this consideration, that the Parliament which so acted is now no more; and that its resolutions on this occasion were, in the short space of ten, or eleven years afterwards, the principal cause of its annihilation; or, if some do not like that phrase, of its being shorn of its beams, by the total extinction of two hundred of its members. It was accused then, as in 1789, of indiscretion, of precipitancy, of a wish to involve the two kingdoms in confusion, and civil discord, with

* See his answer, on the 30th of January, 1789, to the committees of both Houses.

this additional mortification, that some who supported parliament on this very question, tacitly acquiesed in the censures passed in 1799 on their proceedings, whilst others disdained all such taciturnity, and nobly condemned their own acts, for the purposes of their own exaltation. But on the conduct of the Irish Senate, at the critical juncture of 1789, let posterity, not those who were busy actors in the scene, or interested cotemporaries, alone decide. That a difference, or even the prospect of a difference between two Independent Parliaments, affecting the very being of these countries, should be the most cogent argument for the consolidation of both legislatures, I perfectly agree to; but conceding this, and even the absolute necessity of a legislative union, where mutual adhesion is otherwise found utterly or nearly* impracticable, it is not perhaps perfectly clear to every one, that the behaviour of the Irish Parliament on this memorable occasion, furnished an argument entirely condusive, in favour of such a junction. If there was any essential difference between the two legislatures, and in fact there was not; but if there was, it displayed itself in one singular, solitary instance only, whilst the journals of the Irish Legislature, for a century, present an almost unvaried assimilation of its proceedings, as to the succession to the Throne, to those of the British Parliament. Let any one read the speeches of the different Viceroys from the Revolution to 1800. All is harmony, all good humour. The Parliament is thanked, and re-thanked, by the successive Sovereigns for good and loyal conduct, and attachment to England. In king William's time, certainly, Lord Sidney entered his protest against the proceedings of the House of Commons as to a money bill, so did the Marquis Townshend, as has been already mentioned; but this was a quarrel with one branch of the Irish legislature merely. In the regn of George the First, the House of Lords, in Ireland, asserted their claim to the appellant jurisdiction; but the British Peers (such was the utter imbecility of our nobility, and, indeed, of Ireland at the time) bore them down, and, till 1782, removed the final judgment-seat to themselves. But there was no clash, no conflict of legislatures, on the occasion,

* As in the union with Scotland, when Lord Somers, the great promoter of that measure, was afraid, and justly, that the Scotch Parliament might differ totally from the Parliament of England as to the succession of the House of Hanover.

and if there had been, in the present instance, as I have already stated, is it at all certain that the Irish Parliament was in the wrong? Far from it, in my opinion. The Union is not the question here, but the conduct of Lord Charlemont, and other honourable men who co-operated with him at this trying period, of the two Houses in Ireland in short; many of the members of which were undoubtedly influenced by his example.

There were then two contending parties in England, one in the possession of power and afraid of losing it, the other, entertaining just expectation that, at no very distant period, they would be restored to it; but this could not be accomplished without a violent struggle. The consequences of that struggle, as of every political contention in England, were soon felt in Ireland; it has been always the case, and ever will, though the floor of the Irish House of Commons is no longer trod upon. The great object of the ministerial party, at that time, was delay; the most obvious reasons suggested such a course. It so happened, that whilst pursuing that course, and every moment most tremblingly anxious for their official existence, an assertion of Mr. Fox's (in my opinion a perfectly just one, as he explained it) was instantaneously seized on with peculiar adroitness and parliamentary management, and not only furnished more grounds for procrastination, but was so contrived, as to throw an odium on the Opposition, and give a transient splendour to the Minister, as maintaining the rights of the people in Parliament against the claim supposed to be advanced by the adherents to the Prince of Wales. The memorable resolution passed on this occasion, and already taken notice of, had much influence in Ireland. No one felt more sensibly than Lord Charlemont did, the possible dangers which might result from a resolution, which left the royalty of the Prince so unguarded, and so inefficient, as opposed to the claims of an over-vaulting popular ambition. Though no such ambition might then display itself, who could answer for the vicissitudes of opinion, or the irregularity of malignant passions, fed and nourished by such a resolution, and operating in a country so divided as Ireland. Never therefore did any proceeding more completely unite the affections and suffrages of many independent members of the Irish House of Commons, than this vote with regard to the supposed claims of the Prince of Wales. It certainly was one of the principal causes for accelerating matters

in Parliament here, and giving the regency at once to his Royal Highness. To say that ambition, the hopes of aggrandizement, of emolument, did not intermingle themselves with this great question, and change the conduct of several, would be, not only to state an untruth, but an untruth of the most puerile kind. Far be it from me to conceal, were it even in my power, the sad venality, and unblushing revolt of some Irish Senators,* on this occasion; the cabals, the morning, the midnight assemblies of ridiculous personages, now jocund, now woe-be-gone, crowding the Castle, the lobby of the House of Commons, assailing every person of consequence or no consequence in the streets, who happened to have a letter in their hands, the Peer, or the Postman, the Printer, or the Privy Councellor, anxious for, and hanging their timid, and fluctuating votes, on the arrival of every pacquet, and every bulletin from England. Now the tides began to swell on the ministerial side of the House; now they were lower again, according to the truth, or the lies, the absurd rumour, the mingled, and varying intelligence of the hour. Like the Bourgeois Gentilhomme of Moliere, who had read prose without knowing that he did so, those gentlemen had acquired in one respect the sagacity of Cromwell's Embassador,† unconscious of any such intellectual visitation, and were, if possible, more the humble servants of events, than he ever was. Then were speeches made, and voices heard, which never were heard before in the House. One would imagine, that the statue of Memnon had been put into commission; that one image had been multiplied into several, all for the first time animated, and all alone vocal to the rising Sun! Alas! what beings are we! But let the history of Caligula, now deified, now dreading the Tarpeian rock, as Tiberius was said to be in existence, or the contrary; let the crowds, which in the last moments of Lewis the Fourteenth, alternately surrounded the Duke of Orleans, tell the world, if such information is at all necessary, that the pursuits of mankind, on such occasions, have ever been the same.

Such auxiliaries as I have now described, acted undoubtedly with Lord

* I fancy that we were not singular; towards the *close* of this question, at least, scenes, nearly similar, were acted at Westminster.

† Lockhart.

Charlemont, and his friends; and, where is the party or association of men, many of whom have not been influenced by similar motives? But it is equally certain, that the majority of the independent part of the House, and some of its most constitutional Statesmen, and lawyers, were cordially attached to, and effectually supported, the system pursued in favour of the Prince of Wales. Not to add that there were many gentlemen of principle, and fortune, on the other side, would be to falsify history; and several members who had always voted, or in general, with Government, did not desert their ranks in that hour of peril, but generously supported an administration which almost every one then considered, as advancing rapidly to the last scene of its existence. It is to be presumed, that the understandings of those gentlemen co-operated with their feelings, for though not to desert a sinking friend must ever be applauded, to follow any administration, or opposition, from motives merely personal, however constantly practised, cannot, (without affecting any severity of principle,) be justly reconciled to genuine parliamentary rectitude.

The principal opponent of adminstration on this question, in the House of Commons, was Mr. Grattan; but he was supported with great ability by the Secretary of State, (Mr. Hutchinson,) Mr. Charles O'Neil, a very eminent lawyer, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Curran, and Mr. Arthur Browne. The same line was pursued by Lord Charlemont, and those who acted with him. The Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Granard, the Earl of Moira, Lord Donoughmore, in the Upper House. On this occasion, Lord Charlemont moved the address to the Prince of Wales, requesting his Royal Highness to take upon himself the Government of Ireland, with the style and title of Prince Regent, and in the name and behalf of his Majesty to exercise all regal powers, during his Majesty's indisposition, and no longer.* On the 19th February, 1789, both Houses waited on Lord Buckingham with their address to the Prince, which his Excellency refused to transmit, as inconsistent with his oath as Lord Lieutenant; and further stated, that he could not consider himself warranted to lay before the Prince an address, pur-

* On Lord Charlemont's motion for this address, the contents were 45, and the non-contents 26.

porting to invest his Royal Highness with powers to take on him the government of Ireland, till he was enabled by law so to do.

The consequence of this refusal, (for which a vote of censure on the Lord Lieutenant passed both Houses)* was, that the Commons appointed four of their members, and the Lords two of theirs, to wait on his Royal Highness with the address. The gentlemen deputed by the House of Commons were of the highest rank and respectability; Mr. O'Neill, Mr. Conolly, Mr. William Ponsonby, and Mr. James Stewart.† The Duke of Leinster, and Lord Charlemont were appointed by the Lords. Lord Charlemont, therefore, accompanied by the Duke, and the above-mentioned gentlemen, went to England directly. Every one knows how this mission terminated; that it pleased God to restore our Sovereign to perfect health, and of course all proceedings, as to a regency, were entirely suspended in both kingdoms. It is no adulation, but strict historical justice to state, that the urbanity and good sense of his Royal Highness were never more conspicuous than on this occasion. To all the deputies he paid attentions the most delicate and flattering; he particularly distinguished our good and venerable Earl, who, whenever an opportunity permitted, never failed to speak of his Royal Highness with the utmost fervor of affection and gratitude, of the perfect propriety of his behaviour at this arduous moment, his knowledge of mankind, and that fascinating politeness and good breeding which, accustomed as Lord Charlemont had been to the refined society of some of the most accomplished men in Europe, he often declared that he had seldom seen equalled, and never surpassed. To this it must be added, that his Royal Highness's expressions of regard for the Irish Parliament, and people, were the most conciliating, the best calculated to leave on their minds an impression the most pleasing, and to close this important and interesting scene with temper, with dignity, and unaffected benevolence. Happy had it been for both countries, if the same moderation, and benign healing disposition, had been manifested in the general deportment and language of many of the inhabitants of Great

* It is to be observed, that several of the Lords and Commons who voted against Lord Buckingham's administration, in the general business of the regency, opposed this resolution of censure.

† They were all members for Counties, and, except Mr. Stewart, Privy Counsellors. Mr. Stewart is now, 1807, the sole survivor of the entire deputation.

Britain and Ireland, not only at this, but at a subsequent period. On the contrary, a spirit of jealousy and rancour seemed to have arisen from the agitation of this question, which, though controlled for several years, displayed itself once more in 1799, and, under the thin disguise of affected regard for the connection of both kingdoms, shewed, by its querulous phrase, and temerity of misrepresentation, that the conduct of the Irish Legislature, at this period, had never been, for one moment, consigned to oblivion.

This tempestuous and ever memorable session closed the 25th of May. Lord Lifford, the Chancellor of Ireland, died in the month of July following. Before his promotion to the great seals of this kingdom, in 1767, he had been one of the Judges of the King's Bench, in England, and owed his elevation to Lord Camden, who was always firmly attached to him. He was esteemed an excellent lawyer, an impartial judge, and his patience and good temper on the bench were exemplary. After some negotiation, Mr. Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-general, succeeded him; his exertions during the regency question had been so great, and, fortunately for him, so recent, that every difficulty, as to his promotion, vanished before them. Mr. Fitzherbert, a most amiable man, whose habits and knowledge were more suited to foreign diplomacy than the management of the House of Commons, relinquished his situation as Secretary, and was succeeded by Mr. Hobart,* now Earl of Buckinghamshire. Some time after, the Viceroy himself left Ireland. As a statesman, he was not generally relished; but he had many personal friends, and deserved to have them, from his steady, undeviating patronage. Never was a lady in her high situation more the object of affectionate respect and veneration than the Marchioness of Buckingham; her father, Lord Nugent, so well known at Westminster and Dublin, was an Irishman; he cultivated literature not unsuccessfully, had agreeable talents for poetry, and, what is of far more consequence, and I am sorry to add, far more uncommon, he loved his own country, and on all occasions promoted its interests. Lords Justices were appointed in the room of the Marquis of Buckingham, and he was finally replaced by the Earl of Westmoreland. Many who had opposed government on the late melancholy occasion, had quietly fallen back, long before this, into their old situation; but some great and leading

* 1805.

connections would, on no account, coalesce with Lord Buckingham, or his successor. An amnesty had been offered some time after the close of the regency question, with what peculiar terms accompanied I know not, but by those connections it was rejected. Several were dismissed from their official situations;—Mr. Ponsonby, as Postmaster-general, his brother, Mr. George Ponsonby, the Duke of Leinster, and many of their friends and adherents. Thus was gradually formed an Opposition, which, in point of numbers, of talents, and general respectability, was the most formidable that had been encountered by the Irish Administration for many years.

Lord Charlemont's health at this time was by no means good; he describes himself, in a letter to his friend Haliday, as sick of many griefs, public and private.* "My nerves, the constant source of all my complaints, are much affected, and, consequently, neither my eyes nor my spirits are as they ought to be. The horrid weather, which I take to be unparalleled, may possibly contribute to produce these effects in me; but what alteration in the weather can produce any good effect upon those wretches in the county of Armagh? Few things have ever given me so much concern and anxiety as these nasty broils. The fools will undo themselves, and I cannot help it. I am sorry to add to these causes of discontent the politics of my Belfast friends. Here, however, the case is by no means desperate, since, I am persuaded, their good sense must bring them back to a right way of thinking, and those principles, which seemed to be a part of their nature, must resume their empire.—In other respects, however, matters go on tolerably well. The party is determined and firm, neither do I think it possible, that any farther impression can be made by all the arts and powers of Administration. I have forwarded the institution of a Whig Club, upon the most constitutional principles, which will certainly be of great use.

"It now rains as if it was just beginning, and I have twenty acres of meadow cut; and what is worse, it is so dark, that I must conclude my letter. For Heaven's sake! be incessant in preaching Whig principles. Farewell! Excuse this languid letter, and believe me ever unceasingly, that is to say, while I am a Whig, your faithful friend, and truly affectionate, "C."

* Letter from Marino, June 14th, 1789.

Notwithstanding his indifferent state of health, and variety of his engagements, he was no less assiduous in forming the literary than the political character of his country; he attended constantly the meetings of the Irish Academy, and, this year, furnished that learned body with a short, but elegant, and erudite essay on a most singular custom which prevails in Metelin, the ancient Lesbos, where his Lordship had formerly resided for some time.—It seems the eldest daughter inherits there, to the almost entire exclusion of the rest of her family. For beauty and amenity he gives Lesbos the preference to all the Greek islands on the Asiatic side of the Egean Sea; and speaks, (as what man of genius would not) with a very pardonable enthusiasm, of an island so celebrated in ancient story, which had listened to the earliest and most animating strains of the Lyric Muse, to Sappho and to Alcæas.

From Lesbos and Alcaic song to Belfast, Armagh, and the Whig Club, is, I confess, a transition not the most brilliant; but we must follow Lord Charlemont as he alternately pursues literature or politics; and, indeed, it is impossible not to respect a man who was so unceasingly solicitous for the real constitutional liberty and honourable tranquillity of his country; other characters may be more brilliant, but I know of none more entitled to our affectionate veneration.

He was very anxious, and from the most patriotic motives, that a political club should be established in Belfast, the inhabitants of which he truly loved, and who, indeed, were worthy of his attention, from their general knowledge, their public spirit, and the animation which pervaded all their undertakings, whether commercial or political; but this spirit, as he conceived, was tinctured with something of republicanism; and in a town so circumstanced as that was, from its opulence and superior acquirements, extending its influence over no small portion of the North of Ireland, he wished that the old revolution, not democratic, principles, should prevail, and be generally acknowledged. "I really think," thus he writes,* "that an institution of this kind, (a Whig, or Constitutional Club) would, by holding out a congregation to the true believers at Belfast, be a means of fixing, and even re-calling, many, who might otherwise wander from the faith."

* Letter to Dr. Haliday, (Extract from) Dublin, December 4th, 1789.

His ingenious and respectable friend, Haliday, who was of the genuine Whig school, adopted warmly his Lordship's ideas on this subject, as appears from the following letter:*

"Though I have but a moment, I cannot omit assuring you of the heart-felt joy which your letter has afforded me. My love for my country,—my ardour in the good cause which now occupies me,—and, though last, not least, my affection for Belfast, are all gratified by the account you send me. Your sketch, as you chuse to call it, like a sketch of Raphael, is, from its outline, spirit, and animation, more valuable, perhaps, than a more finished picture would be, even by the same hand; to attempt a correction would be to spoil it. Heaven bless you, my dear friend, go on and prosper, continue your patriotic efforts, and Belfast will again be what she was, what she ought to be. Excuse my haste, and believe me ever, unalterably your's."

The club was formed after some modification of their resolutions, in which he says, "he finds, with much concern, that Haliday's effectual and moderate draught had been, in some instances, departed from." However, matters were explained to his satisfaction; a re-perusal of them shewed, that a clause which he wished to be adopted, had been so already, and his Lordship's name was enrolled among the members of this society. Whilst he was thus constitutionally and wisely employed, some of the Castle people insisted, in all companies, that he was diffusing anarchy, and a spirit of resistance to all government; and one person said, that Haliday should be hanged,—the usual ebullitions of ignorant servitude and precipitate arrogance.

The course of these Memoirs now leads me to a particular account of the Whig Club of Dublin, in the formation of which Lord Charlemont had the principal share; at whose meetings he often presided, and of which, when his health permitted, he was the life and ornament. It consisted of the leading members of Opposition in both Houses of Parliament, with the addition of many gentlemen who were not in Parliament, nor belonged to any party, except that of the Constitution. To this description of men there were some few exceptions, which I shall take notice of hereafter. Unlimited has been the abuse and misrepresentation of this society, as if it were a species of monster,

* Letter to Dr. Haliday, Dublin, February 20th, 1790.

engendered by faction, any thing like to which the state had never before seen. The truth is, that many political societies, not unlike this in some respects, but with different appellations, and more miscellaneous in their original construction, had, from time to time, been set up, and gradually died away, in Ireland. Not ten years before, a political association of several of the nobility and gentry had taken place, under the auspices of that great lawyer, Lord Avonmore, then Mr. Yelverton, a man whose very name is hostile to all faction. This association was distinguished by the name of the Monks of St. Patrick; many of the original members of the Whig Club, Lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, and others, formerly belonged to this association. Mr. Daly, Lord Chief Baron Burgh, Mr. Ogle, were also members. Both societies were formed in times very interesting to the welfare of Ireland, and their general object was a co-operation of men, who held, or professed at least to hold, a general similarity of political principles, and resolved to maintain the Rights and Constitution of their Country. At the time of the formation of the Whig Club, the Monks of St. Patrick had, as a body, ceased to exist. When they first assembled, in 1779, the demand of a free trade for Ireland had been made, and, in the course of that session, wisely complied with. Mr. Grattan's celebrated speech and motion for a Declaration of Rights followed, in 1780; and, in the year 1782, that motion also was at last, as already stated, and with a change of ministry, entirely successful.

How long after the splendid æra of 1782, the Monks of St. Patrick continued their meetings, I know not, nor is it at all necessary to ascertain. I have traced their progress so far, merely to show, that societies like this seldom survive, for any time at least, the questions for the attainment of which, or, rather, during the discussion of which, they originally came together. A weak government is always uneasy, but a wise one has no occasion to be troubled about them. The good sense, and good principles of the founders of such societies are certainly the best safeguards, which any ministry can have, independent of their own wise conduct; for it is only the nonsense, or pertinacity of ministers, on points which ought to be conceded, that can give them longevity; or, should they even pass the limits which they originally prescribed to themselves, and rise into faction, a sound and constitutional administration may laugh them to scorn. It may however in general be said, that if they continue at all, after the

completion of their objects, or, after some particular and interesting period has passed away, they cease to be political, and sink into select convivial parties. In England such societies have always existed, and woe be to its liberties, if that day ever arrives, that should witness their extinction. To the great Whig association in Queen Anne's time, generally known by the name of the Kit Kat Club, Lord Bolinbroke endeavoured to oppose another, and, in point of rank and talents, a very splendid association.* A third society then started up, more decidedly hostile to the Whigs, if that could be, than the ministers, and differing from the latter in some respects, because they thought them not violent enough. This was the October Club. All were produced by the spirit of the times, and with that spirit did they subside.

The violent outcry which was raised, and the misinformation which has taken place with regard to this Whig Club, established chiefly by Lord Charlemont, make it necessary for me to pursue this subject somewhat further than I originally intended. What were the principal objects of the Whig association in England, as it stood in 1712? The preservation of the English constitution, and the succession of the House of Hanover; both of which, during the administration of Lords Orford and Bolinbroke, they considered as in peculiar danger. Numberless were the pamphlets, and numberless were the speeches made against them, for presuming even to breathe such an insinuation. They were factious, disrespectful to the Sovereign, and only wished to get into place and power from which they had been so lately discarded. So said their enemies. The younger members of that society, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Pulteney particularly, then in the prime of life, venerating, as did the association in general, the ministers of King William, Lord Somers especially, by whose aid the constitution of 1688 had been obtained, and made their principles the standard of their own political faith. Now what says the first sentence of the declaration of the Whig Club,

* See his letter to the Earl of Orrery. June 12, 1711. The prudery with which this celebrated and dissipated statesman mentions the institution he was then forming, is remarkable. "The first regulation proposed, and that which must be inviolably kept, is decency. None of the extravagance of the Kit Kat, none of the drunkenness of the Beef Steak, is to be endured. The improvement of friendship, and the encouragement of letters, are to be the two great ends of our society, &c. &c." How scrupulously his Lordship adhered to decorum, how cautious he was, *exactly* at this time too, of offending against propriety and good morals, may be seen in Swift's journal to Stella.

in Ireland? "Whereas, under the circumstances of our renovated constitution, we deem it necessary, that a constant and unremitting watch should be kept against every step of encroachment upon those rights which have been lately re-established, and for the safety of which we cannot but apprehend more danger from an administration which has lately attempted to infringe them, than we should from a ministry formed of those men, under whose power, and with whose concurrence, they were originally restored to us, and whose principles we must approve, because they are *our own*." They then state among other matters, that they adhere to the principles which directed the Lords and Commons to address the Prince of Wales, to take upon himself, during his Royal Father's indisposition, the administration of affairs, free from occasional, or unconstitutional restrictions, such restrictions being more calculated to answer the views of ambition, than to preserve liberty, or promote the solid interests of the empire; that the *great objects* of the society, are the constitution of the realm, as settled by the Revolution in 1688, and the succession in the House of Brunswick; and, that they will ever maintain, as *sacred* and *indissoluble*, the connection with Great Britain, being in their opinion indispensably necessary for the freedom of this kingdom in particular, and for the freedom, strength, and prosperity of the empire in general." This is the outline.

Mr. Burke considered, and justly, the establishment of 1782, as the true revolution of Ireland. If so, I confess I cannot see any reason why Lord Charlemont, and several Irish noblemen and gentlemen, should be blamed for displaying as much anxiety and fondness for that Revolution in 1789, as was manifested by English lords and gentlemen for their constitution in 1712. The latter apprehended more danger to their political rights from a Tory, than a Whig Administration. The former entertained like apprehensions from the existing ministry; and as the English Whigs looked with confidence to Lord Somers, and considered his principles as their own, the Irish Whigs rested with peculiar security on Mr. Fox, and the Rockingham party, under whose power and with whose aid, Irish freedom was established in 1782.

"The Kit Kat Club," says Horace, Lord Orford, "are usually regarded merely as a set of Wits, but, in truth, they were the Patriots to whom England owed the Hanover succession, and its own safety in 1714." Far be from me the presumption to place our Whig Association in a general line of comparison with that illustrious association of men, who, as long as the old English constitu-

tion is revered, as long as public principle is dear to us; as long as the most engaging accomplishments, and all the charms of the purest Wit, maintain their accustomed power over our minds, must always be held in the most pleasing and grateful remembrance. They formed a union as rare as it was fortunate, of stations the most distant in society, without encroaching on the privileges of either. The Duke of Somerset considered it as no diminution of his dignity to be, in the unbended hours of such a company, the literary, or convivial associate of Tonson. With the simplicity of English manners, they retained as much of the ancient institutions of chivalry, as was suited to the more tranquil and polished age in which they lived. Though romance, with all its splendid train, had long since vanished, fidelity to honourable engagements, and courtesy to the fair sex, were, by the leading members of that association, most scrupulously adhered to. They were Patriots, they were gentlemen; they invoked the spirit of the constitution, but they invoked the spirit of the muse also; and, whilst they preserved the former, they gave to the latter its most pleasing employment, the celebration of beauty, and the graces of the female character. The unceasing conquests of the Marlborough Daughters were opposed, with an air of gay triumph, to the victories of their father, then in his utmost splendour; and it was with an agreeable extravagance, added in the language of poetry, that their eyes could alone restrain that freedom, so recently established at the Revolution.* All this may be called trifling, but away with moroseness. If it is trifling, it softens, and harmonizes the heart. Our Politics are not always the most favourable to politeness; and he is a dreary personage indeed, who can fastidiously listen to the praises of that sex, which has often, in the midst of temptations, retained those most dear to them in the paths of political honour, or, without any opportunity of displaying such heroism, added new charms to social life, and metamorphosed grave and formidable statesmen into obliging and agreeable companions.—Yet, whilst I pay this tribute to the memory of departed worth, and departed genius, it would be a miserable affectation of humility, if I did not add, that in point of original talents, in useful or ornamental knowledge, some of the members of the Whig Club were not

* See the verses by some members of the Kit Kat Club, especially those by Lord Halifax, and Mr. Manwaryng.

altogether distant from their celebrated predecessors. In attachment to true revolution principles and unfeigned admiration of the constitution, which arose with new lustre from such principles, no way their inferiors. Were I not, perhaps idly, afraid, that even the most sober panegyric might be regarded as something like adulation, I could point to some living characters, as sufficiently illustrative of my assertion; but surely on constitutional topics, on the varied subjects of polite literature, Lord Somers could have listened to Lord Charlemont with real satisfaction; Lord Burlington* would have found an architectural taste, as chastened as his own, in a visit to Marino; and the witty, elegant, and what is far more valuable, good-natured Lord Dorset, might have passed from a conversation on Titian, or Vandyke, at Charlemont House, to the enjoyment of humour as smiling as his own, or gay raillery as polished as Arthur Manwaryng's, in the rooms appropriated to the more select members of the Whig Association. I have alluded to some misinformation with regard to their proceedings. It has been stated, that at the Whig Club "were planned and arranged all the measures for attack on the ministry. Each member had his measure, or his question in turn. The plans of debate, and manœuvre, were preconcerted; and to each was assigned that share of the attack he was most competent to sustain."† The respectable author, who wrote this, was misinformed. Never, I beg leave to say, were there any plans of debate preconcerted, or any share of attack assigned to this, or that member at the Whig Club. The meetings of opposition were, if not at Mr. Forbes's house, sometimes at Leinster, and more frequently at Charlemont House. But at none of these houses, much less in a Club room, at a Tavern, where latterly, as is always the case, the company was more miscellaneous than could have been wished, did the members undergo this species of marshalling, which Mr. Plowden has represented. The opposition must have had the gift of prescience, and known the turn which every debate would take, the particular retort, or reply, that would be made, the perpetual wanderings from the subject in

* Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington.

"Who plants like Bathurst, or who builds like Boyle."——POPE.

† See Mr. Plowden's History of Ireland.

question, and the necessity, irregular as such deviations were, of sometimes taking notice of them ; all this, and much more, must they have been acquainted with, before they fixed a speaker in a station which he was invariably to support. No arrangement, therefore, of any question to be spoken to in Parliament, was ever made at this Whig meeting. Such a representation gives to it, what Mr. Plowden never intended, the air of the Jacobin Club at Paris ; an institution which it never resembled; an institution which Lord Charlemont and his friends held in the utmost abhorrence.* Some publications issued from the Whig Club, one especially, in consequence of a contest, in which government entangled itself with the city, relative to the rights of the Common Council to negative a Lord Mayor, chosen by the Board of Aldermen; but this question was before the Privy Council, and never came before Parliament. The question relative to the Catholics, the most important of all, and most connected, not merely with the interests, but the passions and prejudices of the people, was indeed brought before Parliament, and *that* question the Whig Club declined all discussion of. This, surely, was not inflaming the people against the government, but rather, however unjustly, directing popular indignation towards the association itself. Let it be added here, that some of the subordinate resolutions of this society related to bills then proposed, and often rejected by Parliament; such as the Place Bill, the Bill for disqualifying Revenue Officers from voting at Elections, the Pension Bill, &c. all which are now become the law of the land, though it was repeatedly asserted, in every debate relative to them, day after day, session after session, that they inevitably tended to the separation of this country from England, and would separate both countries in a very few years. Just as Chief Justice Whitshed solemnly assured a jury,

* The Kit Kat Club once exercised an authority over one of their members, which the Whig Club, I am satisfied, never would have thought of ;—when Sir Richard Steele's expulsion from the House of Commons was decided on by the opposite party, his friends at the Kit Kat insisted that he should not make his own speech, but such a one as should be dictated to him. Sir R. Walpole instantly spoke, as if in the House, on behalf of Steele, and made an admirable speech, according to Mr. Pulteney's account, who was present. Had the Whig Club, therefore, ever assumed the liberty of arranging any speeches, or debates, for the House of Commons, it seems that it would not have been singular in doing so, and if there was any thing Jacobinical according to the modern phrase, in such a proceeding, it was a species of Jacobinism that existed long ago.—See Bishop Newton's account of Lord Bath.

and his auditors, that the sole object of the author of a proposal to wear Irish manufactures, was to bring in the Pretender.

That some persons, few, very few indeed, were admitted into this society, and inconsiderately admitted, I freely acknowledge. But to fix any other charge on the Whig Association for the reception of such men, than either a venial ignorance, or culpable facility and good nature, it would be necessary to point out the paths of sedition and treason, into which it was led by such obnoxious members; or, if you please, into which it led them. It has been said, and truly too, that in parties the tail too often impels the head. Was it so here? They never presumed to influence, nor was it in their power to influence the higher orders of that society. We might as well charge Addison with all the imputed profligacy of Lord Wharton, for both, at a particular period, acted with the same party; and in Ireland, one was Secretary, and the other Viceroy; as attempt to fix an odious suspicion of disloyalty on any class, or particular body of men, on grounds so utterly untenable.

If the reader of these Memoirs is not at all conversant with, or if he is perfectly indifferent to, all Irish politics, especially those of late years, he must, I am perfectly sensible, consider all this as peculiarly tedious and uninteresting. But when it has been stated, by high and grave authority, that the rebel confederacy was only an improvement on this society, and more than insinuated, that the leaders of it must have entertained principles directly hostile to all Monarchy and all Constitution, the Biographer of the venerable Lord Charlemont would forget the duty of an historian, all respect to that Nobleman's memory, and the memory of many illustrious and good men, now no more, if he did not, though with inadequate talents, enter at large into the origin and views of the Whig Association. But there are some politicians who, when parties are opposed to each other in the state, seem to consider all debate, not as it ought to be, an open, liberal, and instructive discussion of the questions that may occasionally engage the attention of Parliament, but as an unprincipled contest between two fierce belligerent powers, who think themselves at liberty to resort to every species of hostility within the reach of human invention, provided the depression of an adversary, or some transient, grovelling advantage, are at any rate obtained.

Mr. Burke's correspondence with Lord Charlemont, during this year, was frequent, and much of it confidential. It relates to a momentous period. Many of the personages, who are mentioned in it, are still busy actors in the public scene, which, at that time, was agitated extremely. Such parts of the correspondence, as may without impropriety be given, are here inserted. There was scarcely any gentleman of distinction, who visited Ireland, and who was acquainted with Mr. Burke, who did not obtain an introductory letter from him, to Lord Charlemont. To publish them all would be idle, for several, however adorned by that elegance of diction, in which the writer was perhaps never excelled, are merely letters of introduction. Some, however, are blended with the history of the day, others express his sentiments on particular occasions, and all bear testimony to the accomplishments, the talents, and the virtues of Lord Charlemont. Mr. Shippen, an American gentleman, of pleasing manners, whose family was allied to the famous William Shippen,* came at this time to Ireland, and was well received here. Some few of Mr. Burke's letters, or portions of them at least, are here given in succession. The first relates to Mr. Shippen.

My Dear Lord;

If I were to write all that is in my heart and head relative to you, and to your proceedings, I should write volumes. At present, I abstain from any subject, but that which, at this instant, may give your Lordship occasion to remember me.

My friend, Mr. Shippen, of Pensylvania, a very agreeable, sensible, and accomplished young man, will have the honour of delivering this to your Lordship. I flatter myself, that you will think of him as I do, and if you do, I have no doubt that he will find, under your Lordship's protection, every thing that he can expect, (and he expects a great deal,) from Ireland. He has been, for some time, upon his travels on the Continent of Europe; and, after this tour, he pays us the compliment of thinking, that there are things and persons worth seeing in Ireland. For one person, I am sure I can answer, and am not afraid of disappointing him, when I tell him, that in no country will he find a better pattern of elegance, good breeding,

* See Mr. Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

and virtue. I shall say nothing further to recommend my friend to one, to whom a young gentleman, desirous of every sort of improvement is, by that circumstance, fully recommended. America and we are not under the same Crown, but if we are united by mutual good will, and reciprocal good offices, perhaps it may do almost as well. Mr. Shippen will give you no unfavourable specimen of the *new world*.

Pray remember my most affectionate and respectful compliments, with those of this house, to Lady Charlemont, and Miss Hickman, and to all those who do us the honour of their good wishes. Believe me, with the sincerest respect and affection, ever,

My Dear Lord,

Your most faithful, and obedient humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Gerrard-Street, March 29th, 1789.

MY DEAREST LORD,

You do no more than strict justice in allowing the sincerity of my attachment to you, and my readiness, on all occasions, to obey your commands. My affections are concerned in your thinking so, and my pride in having it believed by as many as know me.

After I had received your Lordship's letter of the 24th of March, I lost no time in attending the P. I cannot say that I executed your Lordship's commission literally: I thought it better to let you speak for yourself. To have done otherwise, would not have been to do justice to the P. to your Lordship, or even to the person charged with your commission. There never was any thing conceived more justly, or expressed with more elegance, than what you have said of his R. H. I did not think it right to spoil so just, and so handsome a compliment, by giving it in any other words than your own. I risqued more, and, without your authority, put the letter into his hands. The P. was much pleased, and I think, affected. The account your Lordship has given of the state of politics in Ireland, was certainly not what we could have wished, and indeed expected. It was, however, a relief to his R. H. as he found things much better than, from other accounts, he had conceived them.

I never had the least idea that the opposition in Ireland could continue against the presiding administration here, however some individuals might be on principle adverse to it. I am charmed with what I have heard of the Duke of Leinster.* I am happy to find him add a character of firmness to the rest of his truly amiable and respectable qualities. Ponsonby† then is, it seems, the Proto-Martyr. I never saw him until the time of your embassy; but I am not mistaken in the opinion I formed of him, on our first conversation, as a manly, decided character, with a right conformation of mind, and a clear and vigorous understanding. The world will see what is got by leaving a provoked, a powerful enemy; and how well faith is kept by those, whose situation has been obtained by their infidelity, one would have thought that personal experience was not necessary for teaching that lesson. As to what you have said of the care to be taken of the Martyrs to their duty, that is a thing of course, in case an opportunity occurs. They would not be injured so much, as the leaders would be eternally disgraced, if they were not made their first objects. It would be a shame indeed, if those who surrender, should profit more by the generosity of their enemies, than those who hold out to the last biscuit, might by the justice and gratitude of their friends. Here we seem to have forgot all serious business.

I have a thousand handsome things to say to your Lordship, on the part of the P. with regard to your principles, your liberality of sentiment, the goodness of your heart, and the politeness of your manners. I think him a Judge of these things, and I see that he knows the value of a compliment from one, who has his civility for every body, but the expression of his approbation for very few.

Will your Lordship be so good as to remember my affectionate respects to your late colleagues. Mrs. Burke, my brother, and son, beg to present our most grateful duty to Lady Charlemont and Miss Hickman.

I am, with the most heart-felt sentiments of affection,

My Dear Lord, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

Saturday, April 4th, 1789.

* William, late Duke of Leinster.

† William, late Lord Ponsonby. He had been removed from his office of Post-Master General, after the business of the Regency.

My Dear Lord,

I have little to say of importance, and nothing at all to say that is pleasant. But I do not chuse to let my friend Mr. Nevill depart without taking with him some token of my constant love and respect for your Lordship. Your friendship and partiality are things too honourable, and too dear to me, to suffer them to escape from my memory, or from yourself, if I can help it. Indeed, I want consolations, and these are consolations to me of a very powerful and cordial operation. We draw to the end of our business in this strange session. I have taken no part whatever in the latter period, though in the former I exerted myself with all the activity in my power, and which I thought the crisis called for. Nature has made a decision, which no art, or skill of parties, could have produced. When that was done, I had nothing further to do. My time of life, the length of my service, and the temper of the public, rendered it very unfit for me to exert myself in the common routine of opposition. *Turpe Senex Miles.* There is a time of life in which, if a man cannot arrive at a certain degree of authority, derived from a confidence from the Prince, or the people, which may aid him in his operations, and make him compass useful objects without a perpetual struggle, it becomes him to remit much of his activity. Perpetual failure, even though nothing in that failure can be fixed on the improper choice of the object, or the injudicious choice of means, will detract every day more and more from a man's credit, until he ends without success, and without reputation. In fact, a constant pursuit even of the best objects, without adequate instruments, detracts something from the opinion of a man's judgment. This, I think, may be, in part, the cause of the inactivity of others of our friends, who are in the vigour of life, and in possession of a great degree of lead and authority. I do not blame them, though I lament that state of the public mind, in which the people can consider the exclusion of such talents, and such virtues, from their service, as a point gained to them. The only point in which I can find any thing to blame in those friends, is their not taking the effectual means, which they certainly had in their power, of making an honourable retreat from the prospect of power into the possession of reputation, by an effectual defence of themselves. There was an opportunity which was not made use of for that purpose, and which could scarcely have failed of turning the tables on

their adversaries. But I ought to stop; because I find I am getting into the fault common with all those who lose at any play, that of blaming their partners: and indeed nothing has hastened, at all times, the ruin of declining parties so much, as their mutual quarrels, and their condemnation of each other.

My particular province has been the East Indies. We have rest, or something like it, for the present; but depend on it, I shall persevere to the end, and shall not add myself to the number of those bad examples, in which delinquents have wearied out the constancy of their prosecutors. We may not go through all the charges; I fear it will be out of our power to do this; but we shall give a specimen of each great head of criminality, and then call for judgment. So far as to a general view of my sole share of business. As to the politics of Ireland, as I see nothing in them very pleasant, I do not wish to revive in your mind, what your best philosophy is required to make tolerable. Enjoy your Marino, and your amiable and excellent family. These are comfortable sanctuaries, when more extensive views of society are gloomy, and unpleasant, or unsafe. May I request, that your Lordship, and Lady Charlemont, will think of us, in your retreat, as of those who love and honour you not the least, amidst the general good opinion in which it is your happiness to live. Ever, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful, &c.

EDM. BURKE.

Gerrard-street, July 10, 1789.

MY DEAREST LORD,

I think your Lordship has acted with your usual zeal and judgment, in establishing a Whig club in Dublin. These meetings prevent the evaporation of principle in individuals, and give them joint force, and enliven their exertions by emulation. You see the matter in its true light, and with your usual discernment. Party is absolutely necessary at this time; I thought it always so in this country, ever since I have had any thing to do in public business; and I rather fear, that there is not virtue enough in this period to support party, than that party should become necessary, on account

of the want of virtue to support itself by individual exertions.* As to us here, our thoughts of every thing at home, are suspended by our astonishment at the wonderful spectacle which is exhibited in a neighbouring and rival country. What spectators, and what actors! England gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for liberty, and not knowing whether to blame, or to applaud. The thing, indeed, though I thought I saw something like it in progress for several years, has still somewhat in it paradoxical and mysterious. The spirit, it is impossible not to admire; but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner. It is true, that this may be no more than a sudden explosion; if so, no indication can be taken from it; but if it should be *character*, rather than accident, then that people are not fit for liberty, and must have a strong hand, like that of their former masters, to coerce them. Men must have a certain fund of natural moderation, to qualify them for freedom, else it becomes noxious to themselves, and a perfect nuisance to every body else. What will be the event, it is hard, I think, still to say. To form a solid constitution, requires wisdom, as well as spirit; and whether the French have wise heads among them, or, if they possess such, whether they have authority equal to their wisdom, is yet to be seen. In the mean time, the progress of this whole affair is one of the most curious matters of speculation that ever was exhibited.

Our neighbour,† the Duke of Portland, is still somewhat stiff in his limbs, though he can walk. He is the same virtuous, calm, steady character, in all sorts of weather, natural and political. He always thinks and speaks of your Lordship, as such men as you and he ought to think and speak of each other. I am ever, my most dear Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful and affectionate,

EDM. BURKE.

Beconsfield, August 9th, 1789.

The debates of the Session, 1790, were such as might be expected from the violent concussion of parties. An uncommon accession of strength was,

* See his very ingenious and eloquent defence of party, in that admirable pamphlet, "Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents." It was written in 1770.

† The Duke was then at Bulstrode.

by the junction of the Ponsonby family, given to the opposition. As a debater, Mr. George Ponsonby was little, if at all inferior, to any one, who had ever sat in the Commons of Ireland. Diction, pure, simple, and perspicuous, variety of argument, not expanded, but compressed and forcible; great promptitude, great vigour in attack, aided by a memory the most uncommonly retentive; such were the characteristics of his eloquence. Never was Mr. Grattan more pointed, more various, more eloquently indignant, than during this session. He had an admirable parliamentary lieutenant, if I may be allowed the phrase, in Mr. Curran, who animated every debate with all his powers. He was copious, splendid, full of wit and life, and ardour. Mr. Forbes was eminently useful, and from the stores of his reading, selected such well-arranged materials, as blended themselves with, supported, and enriched every question. Never were his laborious researches, his general parliamentary and constitutional knowledge, more conspicuous than at this time. Altogether, it was, on the part of opposition, the most completely brilliant session in my remembrance. Administration seemed at first astounded by the incessant rapidity of the attack, nor was it till towards the close of the Session, that they recovered themselves sufficiently to encounter their adversaries with any proportionate ability, when Sir Hercules Langrishe spoke with real talent, accompanied with his usual good humour, urbanity, and moderation. But a leader, like Mr. Fitzgibbon, was wanting. The divisions at this time were peculiarly strong; generally more than ninety; and, as I well know, they might often have passed one hundred, if the ranks of opposition could ever be as well marshalled as those of their opponents. That, however, cannot be expected. Lord Charlemont attended every debate, and spent so much more of his time in the Commons than the Lords, that it was justly said, he should have been admitted *ad eundem* in the former assembly. It is true, that he never omitted his attendance in the Upper House; but appeals constituted, at this time, the principal business of their Lordships; they felt none of the warmth of the Commons, and Lord Fitzgibbon began already to rule there with almost unlimited sway. The principal topics urged by the opposition were, the creation of fourteen new places, for the purposes of unconstitutional influence in the House of Commons, and the disposal of Peerages for purposes equally corrupt; in other words, conferring the honours

of nobility for money, and that money expended in the purchase of seats in the Lower House of Parliament. This charge, than which a more criminal one could scarcely be adduced, was but feebly resisted. It was indeed retorted, and at a subsequent period more particularly, that a similar practice had in one instance taken place during Lord Northington's administration, which some of the leading members of the opposition entirely supported, and were the advisers of. As to the various questions which were agitated in the Lower House, I must refer the reader to the parliamentary debates. They cannot come properly within the limits of Memoirs of Lord Charlemont, which take notice only of such as were of superior magnitude, or those which his Lordship was more immediately connected with. The Session was as short as it was spirited, Parliament being prorogued early in April, and dissolved almost directly afterwards.

Lord Charlemont's old friends, the Volunteers of the North, were again visited and reviewed by him this summer. "The Derry army," he mentions in his letter,* "was at least three thousand four hundred strong. I say at least, because the returns were made so strictly, as to be under the reality. They went through their business incomparably, notwithstanding the most disadvantageous weather." The Volunteer spirit had, however, at this time, began to decline.

The new Parliament met the 10th July, 1790. Mr. Foster was re-elected Speaker, not without a large minority in favour of Mr. William Ponsonby.† The principal object in calling Parliament at that unusual season was, to obtain a vote of credit to the amount of £200,000, in consequence of the aggression at Nootka Sound. This hostility, on the part of Spain, was the sole topic dwelt on in the speech from the Throne. All parties were unanimous in support of the honour of his Majesty's Crown, and the inseparable connexion of the two kingdoms. A general harmony of sentiment prevailed during this Session, which was uncommonly limited, as it closed the 24th of July.

The friendship and cordial attachment which uniformly subsisted between the Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Charlemont, have, in the course of this work, been frequently mentioned. At this time he was enabled, by the kind

* Extract of a letter to Haliday, Fort Stewart, July 30th, 1790.

† Mr. Plowden says, that the House did not divide, but he is mistaken.

and pious aid of the Marchioness, to indulge the feelings of his heart, towards his lost friend, and place an admirable likeness of him, finely executed in the purest marble, at Charlemont-House. The Bust of Lord Rockingham, with suitable accompaniments, and the inscription beneath, written by Lord Charlemont, occupies a part of the saloon, or rather new library, which, though not large, is truly elegant, and is peculiarly graced by this, its best ornament. Part of Lady Rockingham's letters to Lord Charlemont, relative to its completion, may, it is to be presumed, be inserted, and with propriety, here. On no other subject perhaps, very few certainly, should I think myself entitled to give any portion of her correspondence to the world. But the same respect to that noble lady, which justly withholds me from any such intrusion, in this instance impels me forward, as in no better way could I pay that tribute, however slight, to her memory, to which it has so entire a claim. To turn aside from politics at any time, or, at least, when politics are unaccompanied by any thing very dignified, or inspiring, cannot be a matter of much regret; but when such a deviation leads us to the contemplation of an illustrious matron, engaged in the sweet and grateful, though melancholy office of recalling to the sculptor, the features of a noble husband, for ever dear to her; and from the stores of her own memory, facilitating the labours of the artist. Such a deviation is indeed soothing. With two or three letters of Lady Rockingham to Lord Charlemont, one also from Mr. Burke to him is given, as in part adverting to the same subject.

—— I fear I must have appeared extremely blameable to your Lordship, and I am free to confess, that I have partly been so: Neither the picture, nor Tassie's profile could be of any help, as Nollikens said; but in the summer, when his business permitted him, I got him to prepare a fresh model, and bring it down here; and he was so patient as to work upon it, after my instructions, two whole days, and alter a million of times according to my wish, till I really thought a great degree of likeness was obtained, and a spirit given to the countenance, which, I am sure, the other casts were totally void of; for there was a poverty in the character of those, and a tame, but agonized look, which expressed nothing of *him*, either in life or death; his complacency of countenance had nothing of tameness when living, and I was assured, that the agony of dissolu-

tion was presently restored to a sweet serenity in every feature. I sent to Mr. Burke to come and see the amendments; Mr. Byng also came, by chance, and their opinions of the visible improvement, gave me infinite satisfaction. Had I wrote to your Lordship just then, it would have been in a sanguine strain, but I postponed till a cast was made, which had some delay from Nollikens having some journies to make; but, as he said he had a remarkable fine piece of marble, I ordered him to begin the bust, and get forward with it as fast as possible, to make up for the long delay, which my hatred to bespeak what, (from my own feelings,) I judged would be so unanswerable to your kind wishes, had occasioned. I hope the waiting a while will prove more acceptable to your Lordship, in receiving a more expressive resemblance of your beloved friend, and that you will excuse my weakness in this matter: I did not chuse to prejudice your ideas, by giving you the whole of mine, with regard to the cast I sent, neither can I yet say, that I am content, though vastly more so. I will have the honour of writing to your Lordship again, when the bust is nearly finished.—I was shocked to hear of the death of your Lord Lieutenant, the poor Duke of Rutland, who was our relation, and once very partial, and affectionate to our house—I fear he took no care of his health. I have troubled you too long, and will only add, that I am, with true esteem,

Your Lordship's very obliged, humble servant,

M. Rockingham.

Hillingdon-House, Dec. 7th, 1787.

—— For a length of time past, I reallyhave not had the courage to write to your Lordship, knowing myself to have been the only cause of your not receiving the bust as soon as it was finished, which certainly would have been the case, could I have consented to its going without my seeing it, and a variety of things, which would appear trifling, and incomprehensible to another person, were serious impediments to my being able to go to town. The distress and uneasiness it has cost me not to have been able to exert myself better, can hardly be expressed; but the satisfaction at having at last fulfilled my devoirs, is as great. Mr. Nollikens assured me, that he would pack up, and send with the greatest care, the bust, by the next ship. I must now speak a word upon its merit. The marble is as beautifully perfect as any thing can be; and I really am as much contented with the resemblance, as it is possible to be with any thing of that sort; I hope

you will think it has greatly profited from the pains I took, and the patience that the artist exerted in following my directions. Be so good as to place it so as for the right side of the bust to strike the eye first. The front and the left side have not, to my eye, so strong a resemblance; but, upon the whole, I hope it is worthy of the place your Lordship has kindly destined for it; and your accepting it, as a mark of my gratitude for so flattering a testimony of your regard to the original, will be the highest satisfaction you can confer on me. I must again beg of you to pardon my negligences, and to believe that I am, with much truth and regard,

Your Lordship's most obliged, humble servant,

M. Rockingham.

October 21st, 1788.

Dear Lord Charlemont,

I fear I must have appeared very ungrateful to your Lordship, in having kept silence so long, after receiving your kind remembrance in the drawing you promised me, when I had the honour and pleasure of seeing you at Hillingdon. The truth is, that at the time it came, I was so indifferent, that writing was a very irksome employment to me, and has continued so; though I am certainly better, and now able to take up my pen, and express my just sense of the elegant and affectionate manner in which your Lordship has paid the tribute of friendship. The inscription you composed for that bust, which you have made the prominent feature in your beautiful saloon, is every thing that a friend could wish from a friend. I think the sanction of truth permits me to say, that you have given the precise character of the person, in words that flow from the heart. I hope your Lordship is enjoying good health; I thought you looked remarkably well when I had the honour of seeing you here, and was afraid you might be the worse for walking out that very cold day. I wish I could, at this time, have the pleasure of shewing your Lordship this little place, it is in such perfect beauty. I cannot conclude, without returning my best thanks for two canisters of snuff. Your supplies of Irish snuff are always so excellent, that my taste becomes too nice. I beg my compliments may be made acceptable to Lady Charlemont. I am, with much regard,

Your Lordship's faithful and obliged servant,

M. Rockingham.

Hillingdon House, June 28th, 1790.

My dear Lord,

A man makes but a bad figure in apology, even when he has an indulgent friend to whom he may offer it. I think I may as well cast myself at once on your goodness; for, if you are not of yourself disposed to make excuses for my silence, or to pardon it without any excuse, I really do not know how I can offer any thing, which may induce you to forgive me. I am, unfortunately, very irregular, and immethodical. To tell you I have been at once much occupied, and much agitated with my employment, might make it appear as if I thought myself and my occupations of more consequence than I hope I do. So I leave it with you; entirely persuaded, that you do not think that either neglect of you, or indifference to the matter of your commission, are among the things for which I ought to give no account. I did not receive the drawing quite so early as might be expected. As soon as I could see Lady Rockingham, I gave her the drawing, and the inscription: she felt much affected with the tender and melancholy consolation she received from your Lordship's genius and friendship. The memorial of Lord Rockingham ought to be in the house of the man whom he resembled the most, and loved the best; it is a place fit for a temple to his memory. The inscription was such as we both approved most entirely.* I will endeavour to procure for your Lordship a drawing of the monument at Wentworth; it is really a fine thing, and the situation wonderfully well chosen.—You know what my opinion is about the importance of Ireland, to the safety of the Succession, and the tranquillity of this kingdom. With that opinion, as well as from my cordial good wishes to your Lordship, and your friends, I rejoice to find, that, on the whole, the elections have been favorable. This is more than I dare to promise myself for this side of the water. You will permit me to convey, through your Lordship, my most thankful acknowledgments to the Royal Academy of Ireland, for the great honour they have done me. Believe me ever, my dear Lord,

Your faithful, and most obliged, humble servant,

Edm. Burke.

Beconsfield, May 25th, 1790.

At the beginning of the subsequent year, 1791, administration thought proper to divide the authority of the Lieutenancy, or government of Armagh, which had for considerably more than a century been almost exclusively enjoyed by Lord

* See the Appendix, No. 4.

Charlemont's ancestors, into two separate appointments, and to add Lord Gosford's name to his in the government of that county. The noblemen thus joined to his Lordship in that respectable situation, was certainly of a very ancient family, long established in Armagh,* of extensive property, and many estimable qualities. To approved loyalty and moderation in his political principles, he added conciliating manners, and becoming gallantry of spirit, as his conduct at all times, particularly at a subsequent period in the commencement of the rebellion, sufficiently evinced. But this division of the authority of Governor, though it had often prevailed in some counties of Ireland, seemed evidently calculated to mark the disapprobation in which Lord Charlemont's political conduct was held at the Castle, and that the mode adopted in giving him an adjunct, was particularly ungracious, appears from the following letter:†

"A few days since, Sir Annesley Stewart called upon me, with an account, that he had just then read in the gazette, the appointment of Lord Gosford, who was joined with me in the Lieutenancy of Armagh, an event of which I now heard for the first time, and which had in no way been previously intimated to me. A duplicate of Governors, that is to say, commanders in chief of militia,‡ has ever appeared to me a political bull, and though this absurd practice has of late years taken place in Ireland to the most ridiculous excess, I did not think that it ought to affect a family, which has for a long time, indeed, been in the possession of that *Plume*. Clear in my own mind of the propriety of what I was about to do, and conscious, that though the exhibition of family pride be of all other things the most ridiculous, yet that there are occasions, when it is criminal not to assert one's own dignity, I immediately wrote to the Secretary, signifying to him that, having been informed by the gazette, &c. I requested of him to give in to the Lord Lieutenant my resignation. Of my conduct in this business, I hope my dear friend will not disapprove, and I trust that my friends in Armagh will think that I have acted right; in which case, instead of a decrease, I shall experience an increase of that partiality which I

* His Lordship's family name, Acheson, is well known to those who are conversant in the lighter parts of Swift's Miscellaneous Poetry, as the lively and celebrated Poem of Hamilton's Bawn, was written at the seat of Sir Arthur Acheson, Lord Gosford's immediate ancestor.

† Letter to Dr. H. February 7th, 1791.

‡ The militia, as now established, was not adopted in Ireland till 1793.

ever shall endeavour to deserve, and to turn, as far as in me lies, to their advantage, and that of my country."

But such ministerial acts as this, where ill humour and resentment predominate more than true policy, are almost invariably attended with consequences precisely the reverse of those, which the advisers of them most unaccountably expect. It happened so here. "Was there ever such an administration!" his Lordship triumphantly exclaims, in his letter to Haliday.* "They have essentially served and exalted the man they wished to degrade. My friends in Armagh are so kindly angry, that, unequal as I am to writing, I have been compelled to interpose in behalf of moderation."

His Lordship had, on this occasion, the satisfaction of receiving a very warm and affectionate address from a large portion of the freeholders of the county of Armagh.† Notwithstanding all his pacific efforts, it is conceived in terms highly indignant against the Administration. One sentence is so historically exact, that I shall transcribe it.—"Your Lordship was *sole* governor of our county, in times rather more perilous than the present; in times, shall we say, when the kingdom had *no* government, or none but that derived from the strength, spirit, and wisdom of the people, so often, and with such zealous integrity, informed, advised, and led by your Lordship." His answer is cordial and spirited.‡

Soon after this, the Bath waters being recommended as beneficial to the health of some of his Lordship's family, he prepared, at the close of April, to go there. The journey was undertaken by him with great cheerfulness. "However disagreeable,"§ says he, "it may be to a man, who is, perhaps, more than any other, an habitudinarian, it is not pleasant to me to give up Marino; it is still less pleasant to me to give up my library; but it is least of all pleasant to absent myself from that sphere of public life, where my endeavours may possibly be of some small utility to my country. My absence, however, will be, I trust, but short; and, if wanted, I shall be ready and at hand. Bath waters, they tell me, may be of service to me also, but that is a motive of a nature secondary indeed."

* Dublin, February 18th, 1791.

† In a note, at the conclusion, it is stated, that the address was signed by 1378 freeholders.

‡ Dublin, April 19th, 1791. § Letter to Haliday, Dublin, April 27th, 1791.

On this occasion he experienced the regard, affection, and veneration, which all ranks in Dublin entertained for him in the highest degree. When his intended journey, and the cause of it, were generally known, Charlemont House was attended by crowds of visitants, all anxious, and expressing the most heart-felt desire, for the re-establishment of the health of his excellent Countess, his own, and those most dear to them. On the day of his embarking for England, all was anxiety and ferment. " The city," to make use of Shakespeare's phrase, " cast its people out upon him." Every one was abroad. The streets, from Charlemont House to the river, were completely thronged; all hung on his chariot-wheels, with looks of gratitude and attachment, and poured forth the most ardent prayers for his return. As his carriage moved on, attended by numbers of gentlemen, his friends, and many of the Volunteer associations, the spectacle was of the most interesting kind. It afforded, indeed, none of the usual objects of popular and ordinary gaze. It derived nothing from the miseries, the unyoked passions of the multitude, or the solemn follies of mankind. But the qualities that do most honour to mankind—generous sympathy, and generous admiration of pure and untired patriotism, ranged themselves on every side, and communicated a modest and winning splendor to the scene, which all the lamentable spoils, and pernicious glare of Roman domination, in its ascent to the capitol, forbad Romans ever to witness. Let me not be considered as having said too much on this occasion. I hope that there is not that constant perverseness in our nature, which renders us indifferent to the homage so seldom paid to excellence, which is produced at home, and presents itself to our eyes, unaccompanied by those sad reflections which deprive glory of more than half its triumph. Is a certain portion of human misery necessary to constitute, as it too often so strangely does, so large a part of our historical panegyrics ?

—— The marks of respect which his situation, at this time, more particularly called forth, were not confined to the metropolis alone. Many of his friends and admirers in the North, and elsewhere, deprived of his presence, uncertain as to his state of health, naturally wished to indulge their feelings, by erecting his statue. This testimony of grateful affection, he, for a long time, altogether declined; but being much urged, he so far gave way to their kind importunities, as to express his wishes, that, in any public monument

to be erected to his honour, the Volunteers should also be designated, and their name joined to his. In that case, he said, the monument would be more acceptable to him, and less objectionable.* He declined, however, any decision, till the return of his dear and excellent friend, James Stewart,† whose "incomparable judgment," his Lordship adds, "and ardent affection towards me, must render his advice desirable, if not essential. The inconvenient post, which baulked me yesterday, gives me an opportunity of informing you, that, though better, I am not yet quite well of my complaint. The unprecedented variableness of the weather operates against us all; and these sudden changes from Jamaica to Nova Zembla, would affect nerves of iron. Have you read M'Intosh's pamphlet? Bating a few errors, it is an excellent performance."

As to the proposed monument, unquestionably this mode of doing him reverence, in his life-time, however suggested by increasing attachment, and almost filial duty, could not be exactly suited to the justness of that moral taste, which, on all occasions, was so conspicuous in his conduct. I have heard nothing more of this statue, or monument; nor am I certain that it ever was erected. Every reader, or, at least, every Irish reader, will anticipate me, in saying, that he has a far more glorious and durable one in the hearts of his countrymen.

In the session of this year, 1791, the Opposition was not quite so strong in numbers as the preceding one; but their spirit suffered no diminution. The increase of salaries to various officers, in different departments; the still further extension of a most unconstitutional influence in Parliament; a motion to enquire whether any legislative provisions then existed, which might prevent Ireland from receiving the full benefit of her free trade, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the Streights of Magellan; the sale of the Irish Peerage. Such were the questions which principally engaged the attention of the House of Commons. As to the Peerage, it should seem that the representatives of the people were far more jealous of the abuses which had, in too many instances, been suffered to prevail in several new creations, than the Peers themselves were; for I have no recollection of any question whatever being entertained on the subject, in the Upper Assembly. In subordinate matters, relative to the

* Letter from Bath, June 22 and 23, 1791.

† Mr. James Stewart, M. P. for the county of Tyrone, already mentioned; and who must be always mentioned with respect.

promulgation of their rank and titles, their Lordships had sometimes shown an alacrity and resentment, which, if directed to higher objects, might have sheltered their order from the contumelious treatment which it experienced from a variety of Ministers; but a printer, though far less noble, was certainly much safer game than a statesman.*

No one lamented more than Lord Charlemont did his almost invincible disinclination to address a public assembly on this alleged sale of peerages. He felt it deeply, and too truly predicted its consequences. Had he been in the habits of public speaking, he would, several years before, have addressed his brother Peers on the necessity of appealing to the Crown against its Ministers, for their idle and wanton abuse of one of the most important prerogatives entrusted to the executive power. Most certainly at that period, the honours of the Irish Peerage were scattered with the most unthinking and impolitic profusion; one good effect, however, this profusion had, which certainly never was intended;—it retained some illustrious Commoners of great property in the Lower House, who were perfectly ashamed of going in a vulgar crowd to the Upper One. A rich adventurer from the East or the West, was advanced to the rank of an hereditary legislator, in a country where he had neither property nor connection of any sort, which he never saw, or wished to see;—or, an insignificant member of the British or Irish House of Commons, whose claims were as importunate, as his services were pitiful, found himself equally obtruded on the old, or more recent but meritorious nobility. The Minister, after having him long in his possession, and not knowing exactly what to do with him, thought it, perhaps, most convenient to make him an Irish Peer;—this has happened

* The House of Lords, many years ago, committed one La Boissiere to prison, who very innocently printed a list of the Irish Peerage without permission. An Epigram was written on this occasion, by Arthur Dawson, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland. It was nearly as follows:

"The Lords have to prison sent La Boissiere,
"For printing the rank and the name of each Peer;
"And there he must stay, till he's not worth a souse,
"For, to tell *who the Peers* are, *reflects* on the House."

more than once;—like the artist in Horace, who, after a sad state of uncertainty, whether he should turn a useless log into a joint-stool or a deity, at last determined in favour of the latter. "Hence my deification,"* says the tutelary god of the gardens, with great candour, giving an account of his creation; and if similar ingenuousness had been adopted by some of the hereditary guardians of the Constitution, whom I have alluded to, what heaps of genealogical invention would then be spared; and what strange fictions of Norman chiefs, that never existed, or Norman heiresses, whose children were only the ideal offspring of an old compiler of a Peerage, would be, most happily, for ever lost to the world![†] But as to the sale of Peerages, stated as it was by the Opposition, no act, however unconstitutional, can be more extensively pernicious in its consequences; it affects not one, but both Houses of Parliament;—a man continues for years a corrupt member of the Commons, that, at a future period, he may be an equally, or more, corrupt member of the Lords. Let it be observed too, that personal corruption in this case, is neither transient, nor confined to the individual, but expands and multiplies itself in those whom his parliamentary arrangements so ignominiously oppress the legislature with. In truth, a venal Borough is a bad vestibule to the House of Lords. No man should be suffered to pass in that way to the highest assembly in the kingdom; for his own sake, independent of every other consideration, a Minister should discountenance all such approaches. Is it not monstrous, that a man of the most vulgar mind, perhaps, and vulgar manners, but whose purse commands two or three boroughs, should have it in his power so say to any Minister, "Give me a peerage, or I shall, as far as numbers can, thwart all your measures; perhaps, on a most important question, turn the scale against you!" How is all emulation depressed, or the honours of the peerage rendered of less value in the eyes of the army, the navy, the law, by bestowing them on

* "Deus Inde Ego!"—See HORACE.

† The late Earl of Westmeath, who, with the real good breeding of an old nobleman, had a just, not extravagant, sense of his birth and rank; being told, that the Minister intended to create such a number of Peers, many of them not very dignified, as would hardly find room in the House of Lords, unless it was enlarged for their reception;—"Build a One Shilling Gallery for them," replied the old Peer.

such men? The House of Lords is a Court of Honour, of final Appeal. Let the reader reflect a moment on such an august personage as I have alluded to, giving his suffrage on the most solemn occasions, as in a court of chivalry; or, in conjunction with some of our best nobility, and the sages of the law, deciding on no small portion of the property of the kingdom. Such practices call loudly for a reform; and though such a measure encountered no other species of parliamentary misdoing, it would be well employed in laying that prostrate. Let no man talk of difficulties in such a case; before an upright, unbending Minister they would soon vanish. Mr. Grenville opposed himself to as great, if not greater, when, to his eternal honour, he extinguished the profligacy of the House of Commons in deciding on contested elections.

But to return. Lord Charlemont remained at Bath for near six months. His correspondence with his valuable medical friend continued as unreserved as usual; but it related much to family concerns, and topics with which the public has nothing to do. The following letters contain nothing remarkable; but one of them presents his opinion, in a few words, as to the disgraceful scenes which took place at Birmingham at this time. To the religious and political establishments of his country Lord Charlemont was indeed the warmest friend; but, certainly, though he differed totally from Dr. Priestley as a theologist and politician, he did not think that such auxiliaries as fire and sword were the most respectable in combating improper speculations, or supporting sacred order.

* "The excuse you are pleased to make for what you call your long forbearance, is by no means valid, nor indeed admissible, since you are too well skilled in the nature of maladies to be ignorant that nothing can so essentially relieve those nervous feelings, of which my last letter complained, as pleasurable occupation, and too well versed in the constitution of the human mind not to know, that, of all occupations, there is none so pleasurable as the perusal of letters from distant friends. Nothing, in truth, can more clearly shew the power of the mind over bodily disorder, than the effect your letters produce. The character, most certainly, in which they are written, is not the best remedy for a weak sight, and yet, when, by poring over them, I have made out your words, and, consequently, your sense, even my eyes are the better for that

* Bath, July 30th, 1791.

labour, which, exerted in decyphering the writing of an uninteresting correspondent, would be apt to injure them.

" The Birmingham brutes, as you justly call them, are a disgrace to England, a disgrace to humanity; and the letter of the gentlemen, is, if possible, worse than the outrages of the rabble. This place is horribly disagreeable, but if, in the grand point, it answers our purpose, we shall esteem it a Paradise."

*" Delighted by the receipt of your letter, I am sorry to be compelled to tell you, that I am scarcely able to answer it, having for some time past been much out of order, occasioned, as I suppose, by the change of season, which usually affects my ridiculous nerves; but a short letter is better than none, and I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of informing you, that Sunday next is fixed for our setting out for Ireland.

" I have, with the highest approbation, and the greatest pleasure, perused the Dissenter's Address, and, not content with reading it, have talked so much in its praise, that I have made every one else read it with applause. Many, you know, there are who never think of any publication till they hear it praised, and then take upon themselves to judge, when, in effect, they only echo. I never had the least idea, that the Potentates of Europe would burn their fingers in the French flame; but now, that matter is, I think, entirely out of the question, though not, I should suppose, for the reasons given by your Parisian politicians. Nothing could afford me higher pleasure than again to visit my old quarters. How, indeed, I shall be disposed of next summer, is a matter of uncertainty; but impossibility alone could prevent my obeying a summons to my duty. The worst of it, however, is, that such impossibility may exist.

" The Duke of Leinster has honoured me, by joining me with his Royal Highness† in the commission of godfather."

In the following letter his Lordship differs from Haliday, as to some points, and certainly very material ones.‡

* Bath, October 13th, 1791.

† The Prince of Wales, to the young Marquis of Kildare, now Duke of Leinster.

‡ Dublin, December 15th, 1791.

" Thank you for your letter;—thank you for the explicit, manly, and friendly manner in which you avow and explain your sentiments; a manner worthy of my friend, and for which I must thank you, notwithstanding the painful situation into which your letter, kind as it is, has cast me. Not to be able perfectly to agree with you, must at all times give me pain; but the sensation is aggravated tenfold by my finding myself utterly incapable of explaining, as I could wish, the reasons of my disagreement. I cannot entirely adopt your opinions, nor coincide with your reasoning, and yet the wretched state of my nerves absolutely precludes my entering into the argument, or endeavouring to justify myself where I differ."

As the best part of this letter was confidential, it would be improper to publish it altogether; I shall only insert such extracts from it as cannot be considered as strictly so, and do credit to the head and heart of the noble writer. The difference of sentiment between him and his friend, seemed to be chiefly with regard to some claims of the Catholics, which it was expected would be brought forward in the Session of Parliament then fast approaching.

" For Heaven's sake, let us not amuse ourselves with dangerous experiments. In one of Lucian's Dialogues, the wily Proteus desires Menelaus, who doubted the reality of that fire into which he was about to transform himself, to try the effect, by taking him by the hand; to which the shrewd Spartan laconically replies, " Οὐκ ἀσφαλὴς ἡ Πεῖρα ὦ Πρωτεῦ."*

" You ask me whether things are not much altered since the time of the Convention, and whether the French Revolution has not made a wide difference? Some difference, I confess, it has made; but even though matters in France should remain as they are, by no means, in my opinion, an essential one. At all events, time should be given for the perfect establishment of that wonderful and glorious change. Exactly as it is it cannot remain; many alterations must, and will be made: and, with grief of heart I speak it, there are some circumstances, which might induce a thinking man to fear, to tremble, for a reverse. No Constitution is, indeed, firmly established but the British, which, spite of the ill effects that time, wealth, luxury, and consequent corruption,

* " The experiment is not easy, Proteus."

have wrought; spite of Payne's ingenious, but not solid, animadversions, I must still regard as the best that ever was devised, principally for this reason among many others; that it exclusively possesses the almost divine power of renovation, and the innate faculty of repairing its defects, without departing from its genuine spirit, but merely by a legal recurrence to its first principles.

"The French Constitution was born with maladies, which may, however, and probably will be remedied; but then, it depends for its existence on a people in all ages inconstant, and now corrupted with every species of vice. The American, which is so much better, can only last till that immense region, increasing in wealth and population, shall be divided into various states, republics, and kingdoms, while the British Oak, blasted as it may be, will, by its native vigour, shake off its maladies, and remain for ages a lasting monument of its superior strength. But I must conclude, with a thousand things yet to say. Happy, however, I am, in being able to end my letter with a perfect concurrence in your opinion, respecting the precipitancy of the movers, and the prematurity of the measure; and this surely is an irrefragable argument against encouraging hopes which cannot be immediately complied with. Disappointment is a never-failing source of anger, and possibly of tumult, and nothing is more wanting to us, both as a nation and as individuals, than peace and tranquillity. For, in truth, I am weary of political bustle, and now utterly unable to go through it.

"Solve senescentum maturè sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, et ilia Ducat.

"I have received a second letter from you, which you will easily conceive I am little able to answer. Upon the topic of education, I have one word to say. Nothing can be more wise than your sentiments on this head. Seminaries common to all persuasions would, both in appearance and reality, create and strengthen that cordial union among Irishmen, which it must be the wish of every honest man to cultivate. I have had the misfortune to differ from my friend, though I am sure not widely. Though yet unconvinced, I am still, I repeat it, open to conviction, and if it ever shall come, I will cordially embrace it. Nay, I will say more. As my affection towards *all* my countrymen is sincere and ardent, I am consequently possessed of one principle, which

strongly tends towards conviction, namely, a wish, though hitherto a vain one, to be convinced."———

A ce vray citoyen, sachez vous conformer,
Et retenez de lui, nation genereuse,
Que moins une mere est heureuse,
Plus ses enfans doivent l'aimer.*

The perusal of the above letter brought to my mind those verses of the Chevalier de Boufflers, which were addressed by him to the unhappy, divided people of Poland, and recommended to their imitation the conduct of one of their best Patriots, the venerated Malachowski. I confess, I know not to whom they can be better applied than to the benevolent Lord Charlemont, or any country, where such admonition, and such an example may be of more utility, than to Ireland.

A word or two with regard to literature may be now permitted. At this time, nor indeed till the Union took place, was there any Act of Parliament which regulated literary property in Ireland. It was often proposed to bring in a bill for that purpose, during the existence of the Irish Legislature, but, I know not how, such efforts were always ineffectual. Authors were thus exposed to the constant invasion of the booksellers here, and we accordingly find some very eminent ones, especially Mr. Gibbon, lamenting the repeated inroads that were thus made on their property. Sir William Blackstone, as I have been informed, was far more angry than Gibbon, for numbers of his excellent commentaries were printed in Dublin, and sent for sale to America. From the following letter it appears, that some bookseller here undertook to print Mr. Walpole's Tragedy of the Mysterious Mother, without his knowledge or consent, and Lord Charlemont, from his disapprobation of such a practice, and unvarying regard for Mr. Walpole, interfered as to the printing. Mr. Walpole seems to have been highly gratified by such a procedure. He accordingly wrote, as follows, to Lord Charlemont:

Berkeley-Square, 17th Feb. 1791.

It is difficult, my Lord, with common language that has been so much

* See l'Histoire des principaux Evénemens du Régne de F. Guillaume, Roi de Prusse, par M. Le Comte de Ségur. A most excellent work.

prostituted in compliments, to express the real sense of gratitude, which I do feel at my heart, for the obligation I have to your Lordship, for an act of friendship as unexpected as it was unsolicited; which last circumstance doubles the favour, as it evinces your Lordship's generosity, and nobleness of temper, without surprizing me. How can I thank your Lordship, as I ought, for interesting yourself, and of yourself, to save me a little mortification, which I deserve, and should deserve more, had I the vanity to imagine that my printing a few copies of my disgusting Tragedy would occasion different, and surreptitious editions of it?

Mr. Walker has acquainted me, my Lord, that your Lordship has most kindly interposed to prevent a bookseller of Dublin from printing an edition of the Mysterious Mother without my consent; and with the conscious dignity of a great mind, your Lordship has not even hinted to me, the graciousness of that favour. How have I merited such condescending goodness, my Lord? Had I a prospect of longer life, I never could pay the debt of gratitude; the weightier, as your Lordship did not intend I should know that I owe it. My gratitude can never be effaced, and I am charmed that it is due, and due with so much honour to me, that nothing could bribe me to have less obligation to your Lordship, of which I am so proud. But as to the Play itself, I doubt it must take its fate. Mr. Walker tells me the booksellers have desired him to remonstrate to me, urging that they have already expended fifty pounds; and Mr. Walker adds, as no doubt would be the case, that should this edition be stifled, when now expected, some other printer would publish one. I certainly might indemnify the present operator, but I know too much of the *craft*, not to be sure, that I should be persecuted by similar exactions, and, alas! I have exposed myself but too much to the tyranny of the press, not to know that it taxes delinquents, as well as multiplies their faults. In truth, my Lord, it is too late now to hinder copies of my Play from being spread. It has appeared here, both whole, and in fragments; and to prevent a spurious one, I was forced to have some printed myself; therefore, if I consent to an Irish edition, it is from no vain desire of diffusing the performance. Indeed, my good Lord, I have lived too long, not to have divested myself both of vanity and affected modesty. I have not existed to past seventy-three without having discovered the futility and triflingness of my own talents; and at the same time, it would be imperti-

nent to pretend to think, that there is no merit in the execution of a Tragedy, on which I have been so much flattered. Though I am sincere in condemning the egregious absurdity of selecting a subject so improper for the stage, and even offensive to private readers. But I have said too much on a personal theme, and therefore, after repeating a million of thanks to your Lordship, for the honour of your interposition, I will beg your Lordship, if you please, to signify to the bookseller that you withdraw your prohibition; but I shall not answer Mr. Walker's letter till I have your Lordship's approbation; for you are both my Lord Chamberlain and Licenser, and though I have a tolerably independent spirit, I may safely trust myself under the absolute power of one, who has voluntarily protected me against the licentiousness of those who have invaded my property, and who distinguishes so accurately and justly between license and liberty.

I have the honour to be,
With the utmost respect, and infinite gratitude,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obliged, and most devoted, humble servant,
HOR. WALPOLE.

The French Revolution had now made considerable progress. From its commencement, it had been hated by some, dreaded by others; but by many, who really wished well to the establishment of genuine liberty, and hoped that its errors would yield to its perfections, it was favourably regarded. The agitation which it occasioned throughout Europe was, indeed, extreme. No wonder. The depression of the old monarchical power of France (it was not yet overthrown) was alone sufficient to excite astonishment in the mind of every thinking man whatever. But when to the loosening this vast fabric from its foundations were added new doctrines and theories, which before seemed only to occupy the minds of ingenious and brilliant, but, for the most part, speculative writers; and now descended from the closets of such men, to mingle themselves in the real concerns of life; to oppose opinions the best founded, institutions the most regarded; and finally, to overshadow the present state of morals, and of politics, throughout Europe; it cannot, indeed, be matter of surprize, that some of the wisest and firmest men were astounded by the

march, and dreaded the establishment of such novel assailants. To oppose them by force of arms, seems, however, a very unwise policy. But to enter into such a disquisition, is not my purpose, nor suited to the more confined subject of this work. It is sufficient to say, that, in their progress, they touched this country also, and indeed, considering its situation, in every aspect that a politician can regard it, to be unvisited by such a migration, would be almost as much a matter of astonishment as the stupendous event from which that migration flowed. Ireland was, indeed, visited by revolutionary principles; but their progress, at this time, was limited. In the North, and neighbourhood of Belfast particularly, they were most prevalent. The general body of the Roman Catholics seemed unaffected by them. But with these revolutionary doctrines there also sprung up, and was sedulously cherished by many honourable and good men, a warm attachment to genuine constitutional freedom; an abhorrence of despotism, in every shape; and a laudable desire to communicate the blessings of civil and religious freedom, or, in other words, the privileges of the British constitution, to all classes of men whatever. The feelings of such men were damped, not extinguished, by the scenes of anarchy which then began to unfold themselves in France. With the French, if they condemned their conduct in many, nay, most respects, they also sympathized as a people who had suffered from long and inveterate abuses; from an interior policy, the evils of which the humblest peasant had no chance of totally escaping; and, above all, from a profligate, unfeeling, war system, which, with the exception almost of Cardinal Fleury, and the earlier days of his royal pupil, a refined, but ambitious and intriguing court had, for more than a century, entailed on them. In the days of Louis the Fourteenth, France, impoverished, though splendid, adulatory, and prostrate, not merely at the feet of the monarch, but of Louvois, saw itself hurled headlong, and with it no inconsiderable portion of unoffending Europe, into a war of horror and misery unexampled, by the sole hand of that imperious and sanguinary minister. Why? Because his royal master and he differed about the construction of a window! * If other wars did not originate from similar levity, the same insensibility to the miseries of their fellow creatures displayed itself in the conduct of too many of the war ministers of France. To

* See St. Simon.

that abominable policy, even the good and œconomical Louis XVI. was forced to give way, and take a part in the American contest. To combat, and, if possible, put down, such a system, was, surely, wise and honourable; and although the National Assembly not only failed in doing so, but, from the overweening vanity and utter inexperience of their leaders, too soon let loose a thousand evils on their miserable country; the feelings of all, who wished the overthrow of such politics, were not the less right, nor the views of those who, from the first meeting of the States General, were inimical to all melioration whatever, less to be abhorred.

Under the auspices of popular opinion, which seemed at this time to prevail in favour of extended toleration, the Roman Catholics in Ireland began to look at their own situation in the State, and to entertain hopes, that there was some chance, at least, of its being meliorated. A general committee of that body met early in February * this year; several resolutions from different parts of Ireland were read, and referred to a closer committee. That committee soon after produced a report, which was submitted to the general meeting, and contained, among other matters, the following paragraph: "That, with all humility, they confide in the justice, liberality, and wisdom of Parliament, and the benignity of our most gracious Sovereign, to relieve them from their degraded situation, and no longer to suffer them to continue like strangers in their native land; but thus have the glory of shewing all Europe, that, in the plenitude of power, strength, and riches of the British empire, when *nothing they grant can be imputed to any motives but those* of justice and toleration, the complaints of the Catholics were generously attended to." The conclusion was, "that application should be made for such relief, as the wisdom and justice of Parliament may grant." Lord Fingall presided at this meeting; but, some time after, his Lordship, Lord Kenmare, and several leading gentlemen among the Catholics, declined attending the committee, not relishing, as it is presumed, the connection which, every day, became more apparent between some of that committee in Dublin, and persons in the north, and elsewhere, whose sentiments were avowedly republican. Many Catholics of great respectability, utterly adverse to any union between such associations, and their own body, presented an address to

* February 11th, 1791.

the Lord Lieutenant, expressive of their loyalty, and entire deference to Government, in whose wisdom they expressed their full confidence. Much altercation, much division, now took place, with which these Memoirs have nothing to do. But fair and foul take their share as much in the proceedings of mankind, as in the vicissitude of the seasons. In the midst of all these subordinate and inferior contests, there was a large portion of sober intellect, and genuine affection to the Catholic body, and Ireland, which quietly pursued its way, and, by degrees, opened the door for relief. In forming a connection with Mr. E. Burke, the Catholic gentlemen shewed themselves most adroit negotiators; for a more valuable one, with any private individual, could scarcely, at this time, have been formed. He was their countryman; had, at all times, been a most able and eloquent advocate for the claims of the Catholics; his talents were then at their highest point of perfection, and he had so recently displayed them, in his ever-memorable reflections on the French revolution, that, from being the object of the affected contempt of ministers, he was now their idol; indeed, almost their demi-god. To this justly-celebrated man, therefore, they wisely applied. With great ardor, as is particularly well known to those who were acquainted with him, did he engage in any subject which employed his comprehensive mind, and, with peculiar and uncommon ardor, into this most favoured subject, for such it was by him. His son was appointed agent to the Catholics. Their opponents represented him as self-willed, and destitute of all talents. His father, bowing not so much under advanced years, as incurable sorrow for the loss of that only son, has described him as possessing much ability, and graced with many polite acquirements. A generous mind, sympathizing with the afflicted heart, which, in its agony, poured forth such an eulogy, will applaud, not criticise, the brilliancy of its colouring. But his son was, in truth, (for I knew him) possessed of lively parts, of knowledge, and accomplishments. Whether he was generally agreeable, in the varied intercourse of life, it is not in my power, from meeting him chiefly at his father's, to say; but, in domestic scenes, and respectfully soothing, not opposing, the occasional querulousness of a venerable father, he appeared to me extremely amiable and engaging. This gentleman came over to Ireland, and, where party did not interfere, was most cordially received. His father addressed that celebrated letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, in which the claims of the Catholics are

discussed with the talents of a master. Lord Charlemont read and admired it. Mr. Burke was his old and intimate friend; their mutual connection with Lord Rockingham had drawn them more closely together; and the sentiments of Burke, in his pamphlets, relative to Whig administrations, and Whig principles. were, with several exceptions however, the sentiments of Lord Charlemont. But, on the subject of the Catholic question, he at all times differed from him; and this difference, at the moment I allude to, rose higher, perhaps, in the mind of Lord Charlemont, from the opportunities which his knowledge of the North gave him of accurately understanding the real motives of many, who, with views very distinct indeed from those of Mr. Burke, co-operated with the Catholics. Of the foolish, or mischievous designs of such new coadjutors in the Catholic cause, Mr. Burke had been well informed; but hostile in the extreme to general innovation, as all Europe now knows he was, he did not consider such obtruders as of sufficient importance to suspend the proceedings of the friends of the Catholics, or turn aside the expected benignity of the Legislature. "If," said he, "whilst a man is dutifully soliciting a favour from Parliament, any person should chuse, in an improper manner, to shew his inclination towards the cause depending; and if *that* must destroy the cause of the petitioner, then, not only the petitioner, but the legislature itself, are in the power of any weak friend, or artful enemy, that the supplicant, or that the Parliament, may have. A man must be judged by his own actions."

The following letter, which young Mr. Burke delivered from his father to Lord Charlemont, in Dublin, cannot but be interesting, as it relates to that melancholy separation which had now taken place between two most eminent men; an event always to be deplored, and particularly by those who had once the happiness of witnessing the cordial and unreserved intimacy which subsisted between them:

Beconsfield, December 29th, 1791.

My dear Lord,

I have seldom been more vexed, than when I found that a visit of mere formality had deprived me of the substantial satisfaction which Mrs. Burke, and my brother, had, in seeing you as well as they had ever remembered you.—Many things, at that time, had contributed to make that loss very great to me. Your Lordship is very good, in lamenting the difference which politics had

made between Mr. Fox and me. Your condolence was truly kind; for my loss has been truly great, in the cessation of the partiality of a man of his wonderful abilities, and amiable dispositions. Your Lordship is a little angry at politics that can dissolve friendships. If it should please God to lend me a little longer life, they will not, I hope, cause me to lose the few friends I have left; for I have left all politics, I think, for ever. Every thing that remains of my relation to the public, will be only in my wishes, which are warm and sincere, that this constitution should be thoroughly understood; for then I am sure it will be sincerely loved; that its benefits may be widely extended, and lastingly continued; and that no man may have an excuse to wish it to have another fortune, than I pray it may long flourish in. I am sure that your country, in whose prosperity I include the most valuable interest of this, will have reason to look back on what you have done for it, with gratitude, and will have reason to think the continuance of your health, for her further service, amongst the greatest advantages she is likely to expect.——Here is my son, who will deliver this to you. He will be indemnified for what I have lost: I think I may speak for this my other, and better self, that he loves you almost as much as I do. Pray tell Lady Charlemont, and the ladies, how much Mrs. Burke, my brother, and myself are their humble servants. Believe me, my dear Lord, with the most sincere respect and affection,

Your Lordship's most faithful, obliged,
and obedient humble servant,
EDM. BURKE.

That a communication had taken place between Government and the Catholics, aided, perhaps, by the intervention of Mr. Burke, was apparent early in the session of 1792, when Sir Hercules Langrishe, a particular friend of Mr. Burke, a commissioner of the revenue, and very able member of Parliament, brought forward a bill for their relief. That bill proposed to give to the Catholics the profession of the law, to permit intermarriages, to take off restrictions on education, and to remove those obstructions to arts and manufactures, that limited the number of apprentices to the Catholics. Sir Hercules' motion for leave to bring in the bill* was seconded by Secretary Hobart.† Of the progress of

* 25th January, 1792. † Now Earl of Buckinghamshire.

this bill, which finally received the royal assent, it is unnecessary to treat here; but as some circumstances took place during that progress, materially connected with the general political history of Lord Charlemont, and the Opposition, it is incumbent on me to touch on them as briefly as I can. The Opposition has been represented as taking up this question, for the sake of power and popularity. This statement is the very reverse of the fact. Instead of urging on the question, the members of opposition were much divided as to the eligibility of the measure proposed. The first conversation which I recollect to have taken place among some of the members of the Opposition, relative to the Catholics, was at Mr. Forbes's * house. It was in consequence of the intelligence received from England, of the introduction of Sir John Mitford's (now Lord Redesdale) bill. It was said, and indeed it did not require the aid of any political prophecy to state, that the agitation of such a question, in England, would, sooner or later, bring forward a discussion of Roman Catholic claims in Ireland; especially as the French revolution, unstained, at that time,† by the dreadful atrocities which so disgraced it afterwards, disposed many to turn their thoughts towards questions of general political concern, who had never before indulged such contemplations. As, therefore, the gentlemen then present had every reason to expect that some question, with regard to the Catholics, would be introduced into the House of Commons, it was for them to consider what part they would take, not as connected with Opposition, but merely as members of Parliament. It may be necessary to state that Mr. Grattan was not present. The gentlemen who were present, (but few in number,) seemed to pause, as if their minds had been suddenly engaged by a very novel object; and no opinion whatever was given, or declaration made, as to the conduct which they might pursue in Parliament. But I am certain, that this accidental meeting (it was no more) and conversation, led some of those gentlemen to the most serious investigation of the Catholic question; they considered it in every light which it could possibly bear, with regard to present or future times, to Ireland, or to England; and the result of their attention was, a relinquishment of many prejudices; a disposition to hear every thing that could be said in parliament, or elsewhere, on the subject; and far more inclination to support the Roman Catholic cause, on some points, than they had before felt, or imagined, perhaps, that they could ever

* The late John Forbes, Esq. M. P. for Drogheda. † February, 1791.

feel. Such is the force of early habit. Several years had now elapsed since any Catholic question had called forth the attention of Parliament; with that body in general the gentlemen now mentioned had no connection whatever, either from consanguinity, habits of society, or politics of any sort. With Mr. Richard Burke, who came to Ireland this year, some of the Opposition were on terms of intimacy, as they had often seen him in England, where they had the honour of being known to his illustrious father; but no attachment to that great man, as I have already stated, influenced Lord Charlemont; and certainly, it was equally inoperative on Lord Charlemont's friends, several of whom differed from his Lordship on this question.

Sir H. Langrishe's bill has been already mentioned. On the 18th of February, 1792, Mr. Egan, a gentleman of talents, who to great spirit added an honest and feeling heart, presented a petition from several respectable Catholics of the city of Dublin, chiefly commercial gentlemen, stating, "That they humbly presumed to submit to the House of Commons their intreaty, that the representatives of the people would take into consideration, whether some of the civil incapacities under which the Catholics laboured, and the restoration of the *Elective Franchise*, which they enjoyed long after the Revolution, would not tend to strengthen the Protestant state, add new vigour to industry, and afford protection and happiness to the Catholics of Ireland; and that enjoying some share in the happy Constitution of Ireland, they would exert themselves with additional zeal in its conservation." The speech which Mr. Egan made on introducing the petition, was as measured and conciliatory as any speech could be. However, on the Monday following, Mr. Latouche moved, that this petition should be rejected; and though the House had received it, ordered it to lie on the table, and nothing whatever was intended to be then done, or moved, in consequence of it; his motion was carried by a great majority, for the numbers were 208 to 23. In this minority Mr. Plowden mentions the names of Mr. F. Hutchinson, and his brother, now Lord Hutchinson, Sir Michael Smith, late Master of the Rolls, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Hardy, &c.* An enumeration, which not only shews that the opposition did not set up the Catholic question as a standard of discontent, but at the same time disproves the assertion, that *none* of them ever supported the

* Lord Hutchinson, and many other gentlemen who supported the Catholics, never acted with the Opposition as a party, or on any question, save that of the Catholics, merely.

Catholics till 1793, for that also was maintained. Of Mr. Egan's intention to bring forward this petition, or Mr. Latouche's motion to reject it, the members of the Opposition, till they came into the House, were equally ignorant, and whatever was said by them on the motion for rejection, arose immediately from the occasion, though as to the Roman Catholic cause, it proved to be a most important debate indeed. It is a familiar observation, that considerable events often flow from trifling causes. It was completely exemplified here. A debate which sprung up on the sudden, and in consequence of a motion the least expected, brought out the discussion of the Catholic claims to a far greater length than the gentlemen who supported them could have imagined or in the slightest degree intended. The debate embraced every point, and the concession of the elective franchise, though generally protested against, by no means inspired that dismay, which on the first day of this session it infallibly would have done, if even obliquely proposed. Such are, and ever will be, the consequences of motions, which, with the best intentions on the part of the mover, as was the case here, snatch a hasty and premature opinion from the House of Commons; and then raise up that opinion, thus rapidly obtained, as a certain shade and bulwark, under which the House may in future repose, and resist all solicitations on the point in question. Not only Mr. Latouche, a most respectable gentleman certainly, and perfectly independent Member of Parliament, but a large portion of the House thought, that this spirited rejection of the Catholic petition, would exile the question of elective franchise from the walls of the House of Commons for generations, perhaps for ever. Alas! What said the very next session? However, notwithstanding the too eager zeal of many on this memorable night, it is but justice to some gentlemen to state, that they were anxious for the withdrawing of Mr. Latouche's motion. From repeated conferences around me, and in the Lobby, I believe, that several of the ministerial members, and Mr. Hobart, were of the same opinion. But Mr. Latouche's general support was to them of great value. He did not recede, and they gave way.

I have been thus rather too minute perhaps in the detail of this proceeding, but I know of none more important to Ireland. Every question that has since arisen with regard to the Catholics, may take its date from this day.—Lord Charlemont's state of health, at this time, was indifferent, and the situation of

the country by no means contributed to its restoration. He exerted himself however as usual. He visited, or was visited by every one, who, in his opinion, could alleviate somewhat of the public discontent. The French Revolution had, not only at its beginning, but a considerable time afterwards, a warm advocate in him, and he indulged the hope, that the ferment in France, would subside into something beneficial to that kingdom, and ultimately to Europe. He writes thus from Dublin to Haliday:"* Sickness is often the source of acts of charity and benevolence. It softens the mind, checks our ardour, and by restraining us in the course of our usual pursuits, affords us leisure to think of our absent friends, and to bestow on them those favours which hard-hearted health would have refused. All this is very fine, but a vulgar proverb would better have expressed my meaning. It is an ill wind that blows no body good. Such a blast was not your sciatica, to which I am indebted for the receipt and entertainment of your two excellent letters. My malady, alas! is of a far different nature, since, while it increases my wish for a friendly correspondence, it deprives me of the power of indulging myself in writing. How then can I possibly follow you in the many points which you have suggested. In truth, I cannot. My eyes forbid it, and I must per force comply. The last news from France, even by the French account, is horrible, and alarming to all who wish well to their cause. I have often said, because I have long known that the French populace was savage, and their barbarity is now increased and exalted by anarchy, and a total want of subordination. But despotism will never return, and the bustle will end in freedom tempered by law,† and in a Constitution far better than that which their philosophers have devised for them. There was never yet a country where Revolution was so indispensably necessary. Its Government was tyrannical, and that too by means of a wide spread, and still increasing Noblesse, brought home to every man's door. No wonder, then, if upon the first opportunity, a nation, so circumstanced, should have rushed beyond the limits of true political wisdom."

The following letter, though short, may afford some variety to the reader. The poetry which it alludes to I have not seen, and the great work which he

* May 12, 1792.

† How completely was the amiable Lord Charlemont mistaken ! !

mentions of his friend Haliday, was a Tragedy, which that ingenious man had written, and some time after transmitted to Lord Charlemont for his perusal. His friend's agreeable talents were now employed, and with success, in affording him some amusement amidst the multiplying vexations produced by unsteady, and improvident councils, the folly of some demagogues, and the sad scenes which began at this time, though slowly, to open in Ireland.*

"My health and eyes have been lately much affected, but what is infinitely worse, Lady C. has been alarmingly ill. Don't be frightened, however, since she is now perfectly recovered. After what I have said, there needs no further apology for my leaving you so long unthanked. Your letter, and its inclosure, require indeed all my acknowledgments, but particularly the latter, which shows me what the youth was, who is grown into such a man. I find in it poetry without parade, patriotism without pretence, and piety without cant or superstition. If, however, you should be kind enough to send me your *opus magnum*, I am afraid that I must be compelled to make an impertinent condition. Cannot Lady C. be allowed to read it to me? For my weak eyes, joined to the crabbedness of your hand-writing, the only crabbedness about you, would, I doubt, prevent my reading in such a manner, and to taste it as I ought."

Dublin, October 29th, 1792.

Excellent, my dearest Doctor! I admire your Tragedy, and think that it may hold a first rank among modern performances. But why do I talk of modern? It is truly ancient. The conduct is good, the characters are true, and well supported. The dialogue is excellent, and what particularly pleases me, is, that you have contrived to allot to every principal personage, a language peculiar to himself; an idiom, if I may so call it, by which he is distinguishable. Here is no frippery, no gew-gaw tinsel, no glittering Will o'the Wisp, but all is solid, and poetry in its senses. At the same time, I will by no means say, that there are not passages which might be amended. A faultless poem is, I believe, always a dull one. The last act might possibly be more wrought up, and a few scattered sentences may be liable to criticism. But, upon the whole,

* Dublin, June 7th, 1792.

it is a good and sound Tragedy. Such are my sentiments, which, however, I should have delivered with much more certainty, if your cursed cramp writing could have been read with a greater degree of fluency. The feelings evaporate, whilst we are poking out the difference between an R and an N. I have not, however, yet done with it, but, as I have now an idea of the whole, shall, as far as my eyes will allow me, reconsider the particular parts. How vexatious it is, that such a play upon such a subject cannot, I fear now, with propriety, be laid before the public. The proverb says, that truth is not to be spoken at all times. Farewell. Lady C. thanks you for every thing but your hand-writing.

This Tragedy, on which Lord Charlemont pronounces so warm an eulogium, I have never seen; nor, though sent to London, was it ever printed, or brought on the stage, and, in all probability, for the reasons which his Lordship assigns. But neither at this, nor at any time, has a Tragedy, in favour of general liberty, however noble the sentiments, or poetical the diction, been a constant favourite on our stage. Declamation is not relished, and declamation in such plays, too often over-rules passion. But to proceed. It is pleasing to see this amiable nobleman so agreeably employed, and it was a task for which he was perfectly qualified. Few men were juster critics than Lord Charlemont; and to the delicacy of his taste he united an urbanity and candour, which rendered his opinions, as to any literary performances that were submitted to him, of real and decisive value. In such occupations, when politics did not interfere, much of his time was engaged. And no portion of it ever hung heavy. Lord Falkland pitied an unlearned gentleman on a rainy day. In that respect, no one could ever have been less an object of his compassion than Lord Charlemont. His spirits, till exhausted by sickness, were uniformly cheerful, and fitted him for the various scenes of life in which he was engaged. Often did he pass from a warm and interesting debate,* to the discussion of a scientific, or critical disquisition at the academy. Such transitions were as agreeable to his friends, as they were without effort on his part, and always of some utility. He was a

* The old Parliament-House in Dublin, and that where the Irish Academy meets, are situated very near to each other. The former in College-Green, the Academy-House in Grafton-Street.

servant of the public, as well as a fine gentleman. But that malady, which is a foe to all honourable fame, that ennui, which is laid claim to by many of our modern fine gentlemen, as one of their inalienable prerogatives, formed no part of his composition.

Mr. Burke's correspondence with Lord Charlemont closed in December, 1792. At least I have seen no letters from him, to his lordship, subsequent to that period. There are many who will read with satisfaction, any account which relates to that extraordinary man. The following is taken partly from Lord Charlemont's hand writing.

" This most amiable and ingenious man was private Secretary to Lord Rockingham. It may not be superfluous to relate the following anecdote, the truth of which I can assert, and which does honour to him, and his truly noble patron. Soon after Lord Rockingham, upon the warm recommendation of many friends, had appointed Burke his Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, wishing probably to procure the place for some dependant of his own, waited on Lord Rockingham, over whom his age, party dignity, and ancient family connection, had given him much influence, and even some degree of authority, and informed him, that he had unwarily taken into his service, a man of dangerous principles, and one who was by birth and education a Papist, and a Jacobite; a calumny founded upon Burke's Irish connections, which were most of them of that persuasion, and upon some juvenile follies arising from those connections. The Marquis, whose genuine Whiggism was easily alarmed, immediately sent for Burke, and told him what he had heard. It was easy for Burke, who had been educated at the University of Dublin, to bring testimonies to his Protestantism; and with regard to the second accusation, which was wholly founded on the former, it was soon done away, and Lord Rockingham, readily, and willingly disabused, declared, that he was perfectly satisfied of the falsehood of the information he had received, and that he no longer harboured the smallest doubt of the integrity of his principles; when Burke, with an honest, and disinterested boldness, told his Lordship, that it was now no longer possible for him to be his Secretary; that the reports he had heard would probably, even unknown to himself, create in his mind such suspicions, as might prevent his thoroughly confiding in him, and that

no earthly consideration should induce him to stand in that relation, with a man who did not place entire confidence in him. The Marquis, struck with this manliness of sentiment, which so exactly corresponded with the feelings of his own heart, frankly, and positively assured him, that what had passed, far from leaving any bad impression on his mind, had only served to fortify his good opinion, and that, if from no other reason, he might rest assured, that from his conduct upon that occasion alone, he should ever esteem, and place in him the most unreserved confidential trust. A promise which he faithfully performed; neither had he at any time, nor his friends after his death, the least reason to repent of that confidence; Burke having ever acted towards him with the most inviolate faith and affection, and towards his surviving friends, with a constant and disinterested fidelity, which was proof against his own indigent circumstances, and the magnificent offers of those in power. It must, however, be confessed, that his early habits, and connections, though they could never make him swerve from his duty, had given his mind an almost constitutional bent towards the popish party. Prudence is, indeed, the only virtue he does not possess; from a total want of which, and from the amiable weaknesses of an excellent heart, his estimation in England, though still great, is certainly diminished. What it was at this period, will appear from the following fact, which, however trifling,* I here relate as a proof of the opinion formed of him by some of his party. Having dined at Lord Rockingham's, in company with him and Sir Charles Saunders, Sir Charles carried me in his coach to Almack's. On the way, Burke was the subject of our conversation, when the Admiral, lamenting the declining state of the empire, earnestly and solemnly declared, that if it could be saved, it must be by the virtue and abilities of that wonderful man."

Thus far Lord Charlemont. Something, though slight, may be here added. Burke's disunion, and final rupture with Mr. Fox, were attended with circumstances so distressing, so far surpassing the ordinary limits of civil rage, or personal hostility, that the mind really aches at the recollection of them. But let us view him, for an instant, in better scenes, and better hours. He was social, hospitable, of pleasing access, and most agreeably

* It does not appear at what period the above was written.

communicative. One of the most satisfactory days, perhaps, that I ever passed in my life, was going with him *tête à tête*, from London to Beconsfield. He stopped at Uxbridge, whilst his horses were feeding, and happening to meet some gentlemen, of I know not what militia, who appeared to be perfect strangers to him, he entered into discourse with them, at the gateway of the inn. His conversation, at that moment, completely exemplified what Johnson said of him; "That you could not meet Burke for half an hour, under a shed, without saying, that he was an extraordinary man." He was, on that day, altogether uncommonly instructive and agreeable. Every object of the slightest notoriety, as we passed along, whether of natural, or local history, furnished him with abundant materials for conversation. The House at Uxbridge, where the treaty was held, during Charles the First's time; the beautiful, and undulating grounds of Bulstrode, formerly the residence of Chancellor Jefferies; and Waller's tomb, in Beconsfield Church-yard, which, before we went home, we visited, and whose character, as a gentleman, a poet, and an orator, he shortly delineated, but with exquisite felicity of genius, altogether gave an uncommon interest to his eloquence; and, although one-and-twenty years have now passed since that day, I entertain the most vivid, and pleasing recollection of it. He reviewed the characters of many Statesmen; Lord Bath's, whom, I think, he personally knew, and that of Sir Robert Walpole, which he pourtrayed in nearly the same words, which he used with regard to that eminent man, in his appeal from the Old Whigs to the New. He talked much of the great Lord Chatham, and amidst a variety of particulars concerning him, and his family, stated, that his sister, Mrs. Anne Pitt, used often in her altercations with him, to say, "That he knew nothing whatever, except Spenser's Fairy Queen." "And," continued Mr. Burke, "No matter how that was said; but whoever relishes, and reads Spenser, as he ought to be read, will have a strong hold of the English language." These were his exact words. Many passages, or phrases, from his own works, abundantly testify, that he had himself carefully read that great poet. His reflections on the French Revolution particularly. Of Mrs. Anne Pitt, he said, that she had the most agreeable and uncommon talents, and was, beyond

all comparison, the most perfectly eloquent person he ever heard speak.* He always, as he said, lamented, that he did not put on paper a conversation he had once with her. On what subject I forget. The richness, variety, and solidity of her discourse, absolutely astonished him.

But I restrain myself. Before I take leave of this truly eminent man, so long connected with Lord Charlemont, and whose fame, as an author, and philosophic statesman and orator, of the highest rank, is now so stabilitated, let me add, (and it is a slight tribute to modest and retired worth to add,) that Mrs. Burke appeared to me a lady of uncommonly mild, gentle, and most engaging manners.

The rejection of the Roman Catholic petition, as already stated, produced new auxiliaries to that cause, which it meant totally to prostrate. Many Protestants who had before opposed, now supported the Catholics. The question was much more a subject of grave and private consideration, than it had ever been before. The Catholic Committee published a general exposition of their tenets, in which they declared, that the doctrine of, "No faith is to be kept with Heretics," was detested and reprobated by them, not only as contrary to their religion, but destructive of morality, of society, and even common honesty. That the doctrine that Princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, may therefore be deposed, or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons, was, and is, wicked and impious, and as such abjured, and disavowed by them. That as to any right resulting from forfeited lands, they disclaimed all such, nor admitted any title or claim which was not established by the laws of the land as they then stood; and that, whenever Parliament should restore to them the elective franchise, they desired, that no Catholic should be permitted to vote for members to serve in Parliament, till he had taken an oath to defend to the utmost of his power, the property of the country, as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement. These are the heads of the declaration, and I insert them, as it was at the time much approved of. The sub-committee also published a letter for general circula-

* Lord Bolingbroke admired Mr. Pitt, (Lord Chatham,) extremely, but not so much as his sister, Mrs. Anne Pitt. The former, he always termed Sublimity Pitt, and the latter, Divinity Pitt. However, he never, I believe, heard Pitt speak in the House of Commons.

tion, which was accompanied with a plan for electing a certain number of delegates throughout Ireland, for the purpose of ascertaining the general sense of the Roman Catholics, as to the measure of the elective franchise, and submitting that sense respectfully to Parliament. In this circular letter they also stated that several independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent consultations for the laudable purpose of re-uniting to the committee, Lord Fingall, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn from it. That they had received from his Lordship, and the gentlemen who acted with him, the most positive declaration, that they would not oppose the Committee in their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics; and that the plan then inclosed was sanctioned by the general Committee, the independent gentlemen, by Lord Fingall, and his friends. The delegates were to meet in Dublin.

The general ferment excited by this letter is well known, and must be ever memorable in the annals of this country. From the language held by most of the grand juries, we should be led to imagine, that the elective franchise never could be conceded to the Catholics. The Catholics made one general replication to the various resolutions against them, which was published by the committee. After taking notice of the assertion, that "they were a Popish congress, formed for the purpose of overawing the legislature," "they would not descend," they said, "to observe on the invidious appellation of a Popish congress; the substantial part of the charge was, their intention of overawing Parliament." They called upon their enemies to point out the word, action, or publication of the Catholics, which could, before rational and dispassionate minds, bear such an absurd and wicked import; that as to exciting tumult and sedition, the complete refutation of such a charge, was the very measure that was made the pretence of bringing it forward; their petition, last session, was rejected with disgrace; and it was insisted, that the petitioners did not speak the sense of the Catholic body; it therefore became necessary to ascertain what the sense of that body was; and what plan, for collecting the general sentiment, could be devised, more peaceable, and efficacious, than bringing, from each county and city of Ireland, the most respectable and intelligent gentlemen, who best knew the wishes of their countrymen, and, from their property, must be

most desirous and capable of securing tranquillity? What was the fact? The choice of the Catholics had been universally made, without a single instance of irregularity or disorder.

Much more was stated by the committee; but I only select such leading topics, as may give a general view of the subject, and as they are more remotely or immediately connected with the history of Lord Charlemont. Not to dwell on them, or too slightly to dwell on them, would involve that history in much obscurity. The violence of many persons in Dublin and Belfast, who certainly intermingled themselves with the Catholics, for the completion of their own sinister purposes, disgusted and rendered him more adverse to some popular, as they were called, but, in truth, democratic, meetings, than he had hitherto been.—* "My conscience tells me, that it is much too long since I have written to you; but the same faithful monitor assures me that I am not in fault. By candle-light I cannot write a line, and the necessity of my health obliges me to spend the greater part of the morning on horseback; so that in those wint'ry days, short, indeed, is the time when I am able to comfort myself by friendly correspondence; and even this brief space is liable, every day, to be further abridged, by frequent interruptions. This is vexatious; but vexations are become almost habitual to me. Private business, not of the most pleasant sort, disturbs me, and the public is to me a constant source of misery; even that love of my country, which used to brighten and illuminate the darkest scenes of my life, has now changed its effect, and spreads a gloom over my prospects. Yet, believe me, I do not despond; there is yet in this country a fund of good sense, which will finally prevail over all the nonsense of the times. Belfast continues to vex me; but *you* are there, and many who think as you do. Activity alone is wanting, and that must and will be called forth by emergency."—Such were the honest opinions of Lord Charlemont.

A parliamentary reform, which would meet the wishes of men of sense, of independence, in every part of Ireland, and particularly conciliate the regards of the North, where the voice of the most respectable of the people seemed to call aloud for that favoured object;

* Letter to Haliday, Dublin, December 3d, 1792.

such a measure, he thought, would best controul sedition, and give to government and the constitution, the affections of that province. Although his plan did not embrace, or bring within its circle, the Catholic body, at *that* period, yet a House of Commons, elected according to such a plan, and, of course, in a far more popular manner, than any representatives whom Ireland had then seen, would, as he conceived, sympathize more with the general mass of the people; would naturally approximate itself to the Catholics, and gradually, when circumstances were more benign, admit them into an entire, or very considerable share, at least, of the Legislature. Nor did such a moment appear to him so remote as it did to others. At all events, he thought that such an incorporation of the Catholics would be attended with far more grace, more efficacy, and real cordial permanency, than it could be, when originating from a House of Commons, constituted as the present was; acting in the midst of doubts, of prejudices, fluctuating councils, and unchanging ministerial influence. Had he been anxious for the restoration of the elective franchise to the Catholics, at this time, (and certainly he was not) he must have despaired of the success of a measure, to which the Government, on both sides of the water, the two Houses of Parliament, and the mass of the Protestant interest, seemed to oppose an unvarying hostility. If, therefore, it was by many considered as impolitic, by others as impracticable, at this juncture, why not resort to, or commence with, that remedy, (a parliamentary limited reform) the advantages of which appeared to be least equivocal, and the immediate success most obvious?

"Man proposes, but God disposes," says the old and just proverb. All prospect of obtaining any thing for the Catholics seemed to have almost totally vanished; yet their cause was advancing with the steps of a giant. The benignity of their Sovereign, as on former occasions, was not wanting to them on this: to that benignity was also added the policy of his Majesty's ministers in England, which now assumed a different shape. A sad gloom began to spread over part of the continent of Europe; the Prussian armies, and the Duke of Brunswick, had not only retired, with much discomfiture, but Dumourier had obtained signal victories. If the cause of general freedom had gained a triumph, in the retreat of the invading armies, the chiefs of the Jacobin party now triumphed over liberty itself. Instead of laying the

ground-work of rational freedom in France, secured as it then was against all foreign invasion, the leaders of that party murdered their humane monarch, and, drunk with rage and success, seemed to "cry woe" to more than one half of the inhabitants of Europe; a cry to which, I am afraid, some of the cabinets in Europe, by their temerity, and ignorance of the real state of France, not a little contributed. If ministers were determined on, or could not avoid, hostilities with France, in either case they were now obliged to give a calmer attention to Ireland, and to render it less vulnerable. Hence, as is generally said, their countenance, at last, of the Catholic claims, and their support of that very measure, the elective franchise, against which they had encouraged the Irish administration to draw forth, wherever it could, the whole force of the Protestant interest. Not more rapidly did the chief of the august house of Brandenburgh fall back, some few months before, on the frontiers of France, than ministers now retired from the proposed overthrow of the Catholic question; leaving those whom they had dragged into the field, unfortunate grand jurors, obsequious Irish cabinet ministers, with all the old machinery of the castle, broken, dissipated, and destroyed. All this was deeply to be lamented; not, indeed, their recommendation of the measure, but the inauspicious extremes of conduct with which it was accompanied. How could it be otherwise? If ministers think that they can view a great question, in all its relations, at one or two abrupt and hasty glances, ministers, like other men in such circumstances, will find themselves mistaken. Their policy must, in some measure, share the fate of Penelope's web; the evening will unravel and undo the councils of the morning; and a great work of legislation will often be commenced, never completed. An important political measure was never yet the produce of a hurried, desultory attention. When Hyde, Lord Rochester, an able, but impetuous man, told Lord Keeper North, that he could understand any business in England in the course of a month, "Your Lordship would understand it much better in two," replied the Lord Keeper, with true good sense. This question should have been deeply considered, from the moment of the rejection of that petition which solicited the elective franchise, and not left the sport of every contingency, at a period when France, and a great part of Europe, presented scenes of such variety, that

all politicians seemed to be at gaze, uncertain to-day what the morrow might bring forth. Still, however, with an opening war, and opening discontent in Ireland, to attempt to close that discontent, though with the certainty of being blamed for inconsistency in some respects, was comparative wisdom.

The session of 1793 commenced in January; and the situation of the Catholics was recommended to the attention of Parliament, in the Lord Lieutenant's speech from the throne. Ministers, as I have just stated, now went further than the Catholics themselves proposed or expected. The bill, granting the elective franchise, was warmly supported and combated in both Houses. In the Commons, Mr. Grattan's eloquence and ability, in behalf of that measure, were not inferior to any former display of talent which that gentleman had exhibited on all questions relative to the Catholics; he was truly their uniform friend.—On this occasion, indeed, he lamented that the bill had not gone far enough; it had, however, his support, and that of most of the gentlemen in opposition; Mr. Curran, particularly, exerted himself in favour of the Catholic cause. But the proceedings of the Lords, on this question, appertain more particularly to this work. Lord Clare, the Chancellor, spoke vehemently against the Catholics, and against the bill, but concluded with voting for it. The Duke of Leinster, Lord Donoughmore, the Earl of Granard, the Bishop of Downe, (Dr. Dickson,) Lord Dunsany, gave it the most unqualified support. The Bishop of Elphin, Dr. Lawe, expressed sentiments worthy of the son of the venerable and enlightened Bishop of Carlisle, of the friend of Paley, and of a truly Christian Prelate. He said precisely, and no more, what Johnson, and almost every eminent moralist, had constantly said, of the whole Catholic code. He was abused for his speech, in the House of Lords, and applauded by the majority of the people of Ireland. Lord Charlemont, who had not altered his sentiments with regard to the concessions to be made, and the proper time of making such concessions, to the Catholics, opposed the bill; he also protested against it. But, if he opposed the Roman Catholics at this time, he opposed them with good manners and good nature. His politics were uniform; even his refusal of their demands was so gracious, and accompanied with such known integrity of heart, that it conciliated them more than the votes of others in their favour, preceded, as such votes were, by angry and vituperative speeches.

It certainly cannot be matter of surprize, that the Catholics of that day,

obtaining, as they did, more than they asked for, or, perhaps, even thought of, retired from the doors of Parliament in much ill humour. The versatility of Parliament, though, I trust, ultimately beneficial to Ireland, was little calculated to inspire their gratitude or veneration; and, with the vote that conferred the elective franchise, to be told that they were utterly unworthy of any benefit, and that, of all bad measures, it was the worst, was surely a most extraordinary mode of supporting the minister, aiding the Catholics, pacifying the country, or strengthening the empire. Ever shall I deplore the manner in which this great question was treated, and this great boon conceded: differently managed, it might have been every thing to the State, and its good effects more rapidly diffused than they are likely to be. But it contains a sanative principle; it raises the peasant from the ground, and gives him a hold in the state. Those who wish to depreciate every constitutional measure, who, in truth, sneer at every political good, and look only to the "present time," in all their parliamentary speculations, see nothing in the elective franchise, but what *they* term an increased vassalage on the part of the poor voter, and on that of the landlord augmented power. This must be the case in some districts, certainly, where one man's property is very extensive, and the surrounding territory almost entirely dependent on him. But property is always changing; industry, under a wise Government, will be progressive; and, as it proceeds, ignorance and personal thraldom will disappear, and give way to that liberal connection between a land-holder and his tenantry, which every man must contemplate with pleasure. If extensive possessions bear too great a sway in one county, property may be more balanced in an adjacent one; and it can be no inferior consideration to any statesman, to teach the humblest Catholic, that, in looking to the formation of the popular branch of the Legislature, the law entertains the principle of respecting *him*, if he will learn to respect himself. *That* respect, on the part of the Catholic, will be best displayed by a reverence for the existing institutions of his country. Much has been said of the thirst for entire political power, which prevails in that body; and it is suggested that no means will be left untried to obtain it. If Catholic *aggrandizement* and *superiority* are ever sought for, in any regular legislative mode, the measure must instantly fail; for, though Catholic numbers might, from a concurrence of circumstances, outvote a particular Protestant interest in the Sheriff's court below, what would they generally avail

in the court of Parliament above, constituted as the mass of property now is, with every prospect of continuing so? If foreign assistance is insanely courted, to procure that aggrandizement, the most complete and guilty success that could attend such an appeal, would soon vanish into air. A modern conqueror would listen but a short time to the dreams of hierarchical ambition, or the claims to ancient possessions. He would take care that the hungry auxiliaries who left their own shores along with him, should be amply served; and, compared to them, or his own permanent interest in that state which he would affect to assist, but, in truth, subdue, Romish church, or Romish chieftain, would meet no respect whatever. To such connections both might say, "*Pol! nos occidistis amici!*" * and they would say true; for, in such scenes, the modern, or last Catholic, would be worse than the first. There are many persons abundantly ready, on the first cloud that appears in our political hemisphere, or the first suggestion of their own imbecile and sorry fancies, to plunge their country into an abyss of mischief. To such only can I be supposed to address myself here. The good sense of my Catholic countrymen in general, requires no aid from my admonitions.

It has been often said, not merely by those who wish to derogate from the merit of Lord Charlemont, (not many in number) but some of his admirers, that he was rather too fond of popular applause, and, in particular instances, sacrificed somewhat too much to that object. I think I shall not appear his indiscriminate eulogist, when, to this animadversion, I can oppose not only his vote on the elective franchise, but his conduct on various emergencies, when his sentiments and those of his countrymen were not in unison. That on all occasions he sought, and ardently sought, their affections, is perfectly true; and if to cherish their regards was an error, we must, indeed, lament, that more of his rank, equally natives of Ireland, have never been accused of an error so amiable. But, so far from bending his speech to the political fashion of the day, or adopting any unbecoming metamorphosis, to please his countrymen, I confess I know not any one, whose mind and language were more uniformly erect than his were. A conduct, to be applauded in any eminent political character, but in one who was so truly the child of

* Or, according to Pope, "My friends, deuce take you for your pains."

the people, deserves lasting respect and admiration. If I have endeavoured to do him justice in this point, let it also be extended to Irishmen who differed from him, and who never regarded him with less favourable eyes, even when he most opposed them. As to the mercenaries, whose trade is falsehood and misrepresentation, they, and their employers, are not to be noticed. The approbation of a man's own mind is, unquestionably, the best he can have; but the well-earned applause of our fellow-citizens is, indeed, grateful. And let it be an encouragement to every honourable man, who treads the road of public life, that such applause can be bestowed on those who oppose, as well as those who more immediately gratify the public wish, when that opposition is known to proceed, as was the case here, from a good heart, accompanied with good manners.

If Lord Charlemont differed from ministers, and many of the opposition, with regard to the Catholic bill, he coincided with both as to other public measures, now to be supported by them. Not only did ministers announce all cessation of hostilities to the so often defeated Place, Pension, and Responsibility Bills, but they condescended to adopt them, in some measure, as their own, and usher them into Parliament under their auspices. This was doing much, and it seemed to prognosticate a happy change. The good Earl was certainly gratified to the utmost; and particularly when his friend, Mr. Ponsonby,* supported by Mr. Conolly, declared his intentions of bringing forward the great question of Parliamentary Reform. Even to this the ministers, or at least some of their friends, did not seem adverse, but, with a shew of political gallantry, which the House never before witnessed, declared themselves the champions of this forlorn measure, as well as the rest. Some of the country gentlemen could scarcely believe their ears or their eyes: such deeds, or rather such professions of high parliamentary emprise, seemed to carry them back to the days of antique, chivalrous patriotism. "Whence does all this benignity flow?" said Lord Charlemont, at this time, to the author of these Memoirs; "I doubt very much if Monsieur Dumourier ever heard of a parliamentary reform, and yet I am almost tempted to suspect him of having some share in what is now going forward."

* William, now (1806) Lord Ponsonby. He stated what is alluded to here, January 14th, 1793.

With whatever apparent or real benignity Parliament opened, the following letter from Lord Charlemont to Dr. Haliday too plainly shews the state of affairs in the metropolis:

Dublin, Feb. 26th, 1793.

My still declining health precludes the possibility of answering your last letter. It ought not, however, to remain wholly unanswered; but I must have patience, and content myself with a few incoherent sentences. I continue to rejoice in the firmness of my friend Ponsonby;* and the more so, as that firmness will one day carry our point. I cannot entirely agree with you concerning the French war;—for a week they were old Romans, and have since been savage Gauls. I exulted in their emancipation, but shudder at its effects, which have put even liberty out of fashion.

Respecting the Volunteers of this city, they are, alas! no longer what they were. I have, indeed, been their nominal general; but for many years past they have, in no instance, followed my advice, nor have they ever taken it when offered unasked. Their follies have brought shame on the institution; upon a late occasion their conduct has been absolutely indefensible. No Egyptian hierophant could have invented an hieroglyphic more aptly significant of a republic, than the taking the crown from the harp, and replacing it by the cap of liberty.† The corps which adopted this emblem, and gave itself the title of National Guards, was on all hands condemned; yet all my endeavours could not prevail on many other corps to avoid sharing their fate, by adopting them as brethren. Their silly affectation of French summons! French appellations! &c. &c. No man is more likely to err than I am, but I will never be led away with my eyes open; nor shall even the love of popularity ever induce me to deviate from that which my best judgment assures me is right. The anxiety their conduct has occasioned me is beyond expression, and neither my health nor spirits can any longer bear it. Respecting Reform, it will, I fear, be strenuously opposed; yet our numbers will, I trust, be greater than ever. Much will, I trust, be done even in this session, and some good foundation be laid. Pension and place bills will pass, the latter of which is certainly a most desirable object. And now, my dearest friend, adieu!

† As to the Reform.

With regard to the National Guards, which Lord Charlemont alludes to, the Lord Lieutenant (Earl of Westmorland) and the Council shewed a most proper and becoming spirit. They were immediately put down, and, with the unanimous approbation of the House of Commons.

The Pension and Responsibility Bills, so long the favoured objects of Opposition, and of every moderate constitutional man throughout the kingdom, were brought in, and, after a slight opposition from some of the old courtiers, received the Royal assent at the close of the Session. The Catholic Bill also; but the same fate did not attend the ancient question of Reform. With every indulgence to Ministers, I must say, that their countenance of a question so important, at the beginning of a Session, and subsequent abandonment of it, were impolitic in the extreme, and tended to create much and well-grounded discontent throughout the kingdom. There are some questions which should never be played or trifled with.—This was one of them.—Lord Charlemont, and many of the constitutional and loyal friends of Reform, expressed their severe and bitter disappointment. Whether Ministers *here* were instructed by the English Cabinet at first to accede in part to the question, and, as certain prospects began to be less clouded, their instructions were gradually changed, may admit of some speculation. Altogether, the plan of Reform aspired to a height of parliamentary perfection, which they thought, perhaps, impracticable, and, without any contending instructions from England, was certainly not at all, truly relished by themselves, or, if they had relished it, no one will suspect that they would have followed its premature extinction in the British Cabinet with their own official one. They were not so sublime.

> " Thou wast *too* good to dwell on earth with *me*,
> " And I, *not* good enough to die with thee!"

If Ministers were in the habit of composing parliamentary epitaphs, such might have been their's, on the departed question of Reform at this juncture. Another reason, independent of the change of affairs on the Continent, may justly be assigned for the English Ministers avoiding any Parliamentary Reform in Ireland, and that was, the dread of its being more successful in England if it had gained ground here. But a more opportune season for bringing it forward in the Irish House of Commons could hardly have been found. Mr.

Ponsonby, Mr. Conolly, and other great land proprietors, connected with boroughs, and borough patrons, though formerly inimical to, were now (I know what I write) sincere advocates for the measure. It would have been, and was, in truth, on one or two nights discussed calmly and wisely. Mr. Hutchinson, (the Secretary of State) spoke with much information on the subject,* and changed the opinions of some gentlemen. To say that the demagogues, either in the North or Dublin, would not have been satisfied, is saying nothing, for, certainly, no plan of Reform could have pleased them, but one of their own formation. To wait, therefore, for their approbation, would have been the waiting of the rustic for the passing by of the river. The river still flowed on, and so would their discontent; but a sincere adoption of some rational plan of Reform must have tended to disarm them, and diminish the number of their adherents, which at this time was by no means great. Some of them acknowledged afterwards, that it would have had that effect. That perverseness which sometimes governs human affairs, was not a little displayed in this business. A Reform, so loudly called for by the People, and so often frowned at by the Castle, was, at this time, when so favourably regarded by the House of Commons, almost entirely neglected by the People. Except a resolution in its favour by the Catholic Convention, all was silent. In districts where the Catholics were disliked, or dreaded, this silence could be accounted for; but the same taciturnity prevailed even where they were most favoured. If the plan had been agreeable to the United Irishmen, or if they had applauded it with the sinister view of obtaining some ground on which, at a future day, they might erect their scheme of universal suffrage, moderate men might, indeed, have naturally shrunk back, and, observing the obliquity of such motives, declined giving any assistance to any Reform, which, however, originally raised as a tower of strength to the state, would, with the aid of such political architects, be soon changed into a tower of confusion, where every language would be spoken save that of the Constitution. But it was not so;—the United Irishmen were, at this time, as silent with regard to a Reform as the rest of the community in general were. They, indeed, declared themselves perfectly indifferent to any thing the Legislature could, or would do, and

* See an Extract of his Speech in the Appendix, which is worth attending to, as it gives, in a short compass, the genuine state of Parliamentary Representation at that time in Ireland.

recommended a similar apathy to all his Majesty's loving subjects in Ireland.

There was much business transacted this Session, and altogether it was an uncommonly important one. Lord Hillsborough (the late lamented Marquis of Downshire) introduced the Militia Bill into the House of Commons, which was generally approved of. The Opposition supported Administration in the prosecution of hostilities which had now commenced, and in questions, such as the Alien Bill, and others which might be expected to take place in the situations which England and France now held, as opposed to each other. With his health rather declining, and his mind in some respects ill at ease, we find Lord Charlemont at the present period in harmony with Ministers. Satisfied, except as to a Reform, with their proceedings, amused and rendered happy by the correspondence and lively talents of his friend.

* "A thousand thanks for your pleasing letter, and still more pleasing verses; delightful in themselves, and still more to me, when I consider them as a proof that no disagreeable circumstances have been able to overthrow your philosophy, or, as it may be more truly expressed, to prevail over that fortunate flow of spirits with which nature has blessed you. Sometime since I should have attempted, though even then without success, to have answered your epistle in its own style; but alas! ill-health has well nigh quenched in me every spark of humour, every poetical effervescence.—But no more of this;—I shall, therefore, conclude with a request, that when you write to the dear Anna and the charming Delia, you will present them with my most truly affectionate compliments, together with my felicitations on their being able to inspire a youth of sixty-five with a spirit of poetry, which would do honour to Catullus. Adieu! Believe me that I shall ever be, what I ever have been since I first knew you, your truly affectionate, C.

"Though I am weary of politics, I cannot avoid informing you, that our labours have not been entirely fruitless, and that if our success has not been equal to my wishes, it has far, however, exceeded my expectations. The explanation of the Navigation Act, together with its consequences, is a real commer-

* Letter to Haliday, Dublin, June 13th, 1793.

cial benefit. The entire cession of the Hereditary Revenue, which is now to be consolidated with the other national funds, and strictly appropriated; and the establishment of a Treasury Board, which will be paid for by the salaries of the useless and alien Vice-Treasurers, will, in effect, nearly answer the purpose of our Responsibility Bill. Respecting Place and Pension Bills something will be done; but to what extent is not yet explained. My hopes, I confess, are by no means sanguine on these heads. Once more adieu!"

In a few days after the date of this letter,* the Earl of Moira† died. He was one of Lord Charlemont's earliest friends, and for many years his parliamentary coadjutor in the House of Peers. He was a scholar, well versed in ancient as well as modern literature; possessed of much and truly useful information, which he communicated with peculiar agreeableness, for his diction was remarkable for its facility and purity, and his conceptions clear and unembarrassed;—he was a constant reader; in truth, few men of any rank read so constantly;—his studies leaned much to scientific subjects, and those of natural history, which he well understood. He was very conversant also in the polite arts, and his library, to which every one had access, was a noble collection of books, the most useful, as well as the most agreeable. In politics he was a Whig, of true revolution principles, that is, attached to monarchy and the people. From the moment that he first took his seat in the House of Lords to the close of his life, (a long period) his conduct was that of a truly independent Peer. He often opposed, he never attempted to vilify or debase the Government. With many of the Lord Lieutenants he lived on terms of intimacy or civility; but, I believe, never once asked a favour from one of them. With an elocution the most unembarrassed, as I have already stated, but adapted, perhaps, more to society than public life, and with general political knowledge, he very seldom spoke in Parliament; on one or two occasions he was forced, by idle asperity, to assert himself; he did so, with a just spirit and his usual good manners. In the earlier part of his life he had lived much abroad, or in England, in the best company of the older part of the court of George the

* Thursday, June 20th, 1793.

† John Rawdon, father to the present Earl of Moira, Hastings, &c.

Second, and to his last hour retained the agreeable and polished manners of that society; in this respect, indeed, it is not easy to do him justice; there was nothing artificial, nothing forced, in his good breeding;—it was a courtesy always flowing, never wearying, directed to every one, but still measured; never losing sight of the humblest as well as the highest in his company, never displaying his rank, and never departing from it. Lord Charlemont used often to say, that he was one of the best bred men of his age. He had, like other men, his foibles, but they were slight, and too often magnified by illiberality, ignorance, and adulation of ministerial power; but there was not one *gentleman* (I lay claim to that word only as our ancestors understood, and limited the use of it) in either House of Parliament, or out of Parliament, who, if acquainted with him, did not regard and respect him. His house will be long, very long, remembered; it was for many years the seat of refined hospitality, of good nature, and good conversation; in doing the honours of it, Lord Moira had certainly one advantage above most men, for he had every assistance that true magnificence, the nobleness of manners peculiar to exalted birth, and talents for society the most cultivated, could give him, in his illustrious Countess.*

Lord Charlemont truly lamented the loss of this accomplished nobleman; but it pleased Providence to afflict him with one of a far severer nature.—His second son, James Caulfield, a most pleasing youth of seventeen years of age, died the September following. Lord Charlemont's letters express the anguish of his heart, as well as that of the amiable partner in his afflictions, and her consequent indisposition. Such scenes of domestic distress must necessarily engage the sympathy of every reader; but a detail of them would, surely, be as unnecessary as disrespectful.

The borough of Charlemont, although under the immediate influence of the Earl, might be considered, from the unvarying succession of its patriotic representatives, as more the scene of popular election than many places where independence was supposed to be most triumphant. Towards the close of this year it was deprived of one of its members, Mr. Richard Sheridan, whose death affected Lord Charlemont very sensibly.

* Elizabeth, Countess of Moira, Baroness Hastings, Hungerford, &c. in her own right; daughter of Theophilus, and sister to Francis, late Earl of Huntingdon.

" Poor Sheridan! (thus he writes to Haliday, January 1st, 1794) Indeed his loss has given me sincere concern. Though certainly injured by the sad situation of his health, yet, take him all in all, I shall find it very difficult to replace him as I wish. Never, I am confident, lived a man of better heart, or of more true and genuine honour, and, between us, the *idem velle, atque idem nolle*, was perfectly established. Where, then, is his like to be found? I have for some time past thought of nothing else, and have, hitherto, met only with disappointment. Meanwhile the time presses, and something must be decided. The new year has begun;—I am glad of it, for I was heartily sick of the old one. May it be marked with more pleasing events, both at home and abroad, than its disgusting predecessor! Let this be an epoch of returning reason, as the last has been of universal madness."

Richard Sheridan, above-mentioned, was cousin-german to Brinsley Sheridan.* He was bred to the bar, though without a regular academic education, and possessed, in no slight degree, the talents and dispositions of his family. He had distinguished himself in his profession on some occasions, and, though his fund of general information was too limited to command the uniform attention of the House of Commons, he was always heard with satisfaction. His manner was oratorial, his voice remarkably sonorous and imposing;—he had, at times, much of that thoughtlessness and, what may be called, *étourderie*, which Swift describes as predominating in the character of his grandfather, the celebrated Dr. Sheridan. In his dealings with the world, he was indeed, as Lord Charlemont represents him, a man of the truest honour; and such was the festivity of his disposition, the excellence of his temper, and peculiar simplicity of his mind, that few men were ever more truly loved and esteemed.

The letter which Lord Charlemont wrote to Mr. Sheridan on offering him a seat in Parliament, is perfectly consistent with all that his lordship ever said on that subject. It does him credit, and, as such, I insert it.

* Insigne mœstis præsidium reis,
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiæ,
Cui laurus eternos honores,
Dramatico peperit triumpho!

April 10th, 1790.

Dear Sir,

Some characters, as well as some countenances, possess the peculiar privilege of making an immediate and favorable impression. My acquaintance with you has been of short duration, and yet that short acquaintance has been effectual to point you out as the fittest person to execute a trust, which is, in my opinion, the most important that one man can receive from another. Whenever it may be possible that the representation of this kingdom shall be purified, and advantageously altered from its present absurd, and unconstitutional course, I shall, with exultation, resign that which some men esteem their property, but will in the mean while endeavour to manage that trust, which I hold for my country, as far as I am able, to her advantage; neither do I think that I can better perform this, according to my ideas, indispensable duty, than by offering you a seat for the borough of Charlemont, your acceptance of which, will be an obligation to me. Should I be so happy as to form with you this close and important connection, it may be expedient that you should know my general political sentiments, which, as they are clear and simple, I shall be able in a very few words to explain.

As love for my country is the ruling passion of my heart, and, as our actions are most commonly directed by the ruling passion, I can claim little merit in wishing to act in the manner which I may deem most essentially advantageous to her. I am, in the genuine, and most enlarged sense of the word, a Whig; and consequently am warmly addicted to the party, with whose general principles I most heartily concur; an attachment, which is still further fortified by friendship, esteem, and confidence on the one hand, and by a distrust on the other, founded upon experience. But I was an Irishman, before I was a party man, and, however it might hurt the feelings of my heart, should oppose my best friends, and those whom most I love and honour, if at any time their interests should clash with those of my country. This is my creed, and this I firmly believe to be your's, in which confidence I once more intreat your kind acceptance of my offer; by complying with which request, you will most essentially gratify and oblige,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

And truly affectionate, humble Servant,

CHARLEMONT.

Mr. Sheridan was succeeded in Charlemont by Mr. Jephson, nephew to the ingenious author of that name, the friend of Garrick, Mr. Malone, and other literary men. He, the author, was much caressed and sought after by several of the first societies in Dublin, as he possessed much wit and pleasantry, and, when not overcome by the spleen, was extremely amusing and entertaining. He was a member of the House of Commons of Ireland, and died not long since.

"The Borough of Charlemont" (his Lordship writes, January 23d, 1794) "elects Richard Jephson, a young man of excellent talents, and, as far as my strictest investigation can fathom, of sound principles. How far any untried man may succeed, is a matter of mere hazard; but the peculiar cast of his abilities, joined to much diligence, and great ardour, gives him, I think, an excellent chance. It is, besides, my opinion, that almost the only good effect which can be derived from the present absurd system of borough representation, is the possibility of bringing forward young men, who may become useful to their country, but who, without this resource, would probably be condemned to waste their sweetness on the desert air."

The two following letters should have preceded what has been just given.

Dublin, 19th November, 1793.

Success has attended your patriotic wish. Immediately on the receipt of your official letter, I communicated its contents to Lord Hobart; and, principally in consequence of your representation, a proclamation has issued, requiring ships from the West-Indies to perform quarantine. Thus have you kindly put it in my power to be in some degree instrumental in saving my country from the horrors of external malady; and would to Heaven you could equally enable me to check the course of internal disorder! The principal aim of your literary society, is undoubtedly excellent, and worthy of Belfast in her golden days; but, if politics should interfere, and in the present agitated state of my still-beloved town, it will be difficult to prevent such interference, I most sincerely join with you in thinking, that

the good purpose of the institution will be disappointed. The present cast of politics is a foe to letters, as will, I fear, too soon be exemplified in the fate of the incomparable Condorcet.—Apropos, have you read the pamphlet, signed Jasper Wilson? It appears to me one of the best that ever was written. The Calm observer, too, is an excellent composition; but it is too long, and though its flowers be often exquisitely beautiful, it is, perhaps, too flowery. Of this last, however, I speak from a partial knowledge, as the print is too small for me to read it, and part of it only has been read to me.

Dublin, December 4th, 1793.

"——It is impossible not to love O'Neill.* His very mistakes spring from amiable qualities, and that milkiness of disposition, which steals upon our affections, is, at the same time, the cause of his too great pliancy; I was once honoured with his confidence.

"Whoever attributes Jasper Wilson's pamphlet to more than one writer, must, in my opinon, be wholly mistaken; there is in it an integrity of style and manner which could never be the result of association. I still greatly prefer it to the Calm observer, which is too long, too complex, and, in some places, not free from sophistry. The preface is, indeed, a master piece, but the work itself often languishes, and is in some degree liable to the strong objection of not compelling its reader to persevere in the perusal. It is not, however, the work of the noble Lord; I know him well, and he is incapable of it. It may be, indeed, and I believe is, of his school."

As the preceding session had been remarkable for its length and importance, the present one, (1794) was equally remarkable for its brevity, and, indeed, nothingness. One circumstance, however, distinguished it, which can by no means be passed over. Mr. Ponsonby,† on the 4th of March, moved that his bill, for improving the representation of the people, should be read a second time the next day. The 2d of August, according to the usual style of ministerial amendments, was proposed, instead of the

* John, late Earl O'Neill, father to the present Earl. A more amiable man never existed.

† William, late Lord Ponsonby.

morrow, and carried by a large majority of 142 to 44. In the course of the debate, Mr. Grattan, with peculiar energy of argument, combated the plan of individual representation, or universal suffrage, which had been held out, accompanied by annual parliaments, as the unfailing remedies for all grievances, and all abuses whatsoever. The limits and the object of this work do not permit me to insert Mr. Grattan's speech, but it deserves an attentive perusal. One or two sentences cannot be omitted. " To destroy the influence of landed property, is the object of individual representation; but its immediate effect would be to extinguish the people. The rich might for a time make a struggle, they might in some places buy a mob, who, by such a plan, would be all electors. The minister too, for the short time such a plan suffered king or minister, could in the corrupt confusion of such election, preserve some influence by the application of the treasury, and the command of the army. But the farmer and the citizen could have none of those advantages. With this plan of personal representation, a revolution of power would lead speedily to a revolution of property; for, if you transfer the power of the state to those who have nothing in the country, they will give themselves your property. The first ordinance then of such a plan, would be robbery, accompanied with the circumstances incidental to robbery,—murder." The framers and promulgators of this plan felt the strength and poignancy of these observations, which exposed the folly of some, and unmasked the projects of others. It is said, that at this time, some men who were scholars, amiable in society, and of refined talents, belonged to the association of United Irishmen. I can believe it. But though they did not engage in the treasons of others, their speculations and theories carried abundant mischief with them. I should dismiss the subject at once, and leave it to the general histories of this period, if, as the biographer of Lord Charlemont, I was not obliged to record, not only the existence of such talents, noxious always without experience, but also the perverseness of some of the ministerialists, who, in their way, were as mischievous as the theorists, blended Lord Charlemont, his friends, and all who opposed administration, in one general mass, and despoiled government of much of its energy, by their undistinguishing censures and hostility. Thus the press, whether it teemed with the inflated language of United Irishmen, or the denunciations

of the court, became almost a nuisance, and in the very address to which I have alluded of the United Irishmen, it was declared, " that the speeches and debates of the opposition were regarded by that association with perfect indifference, and, consequently, by all whom it could influence." Yet at this time, and session after session, till Parliament itself, " like an insubstantial pageant," faded away, and was no more, the half, of what the yet remaining courtesy of the House of Commons called debate, was employed in charging all the opposition, Lords and Commons, with misleading the populace by speeches, which were industriously kept from them, and which the great leaders of the populace never read, and openly declared their contempt of. It is not pleasant to look back to such scenes, and the reader cannot be more tired of them than I am myself. As to universal suffrage, it seems, as far as I can judge, very generally abandoned at present; and, indeed, it is difficult to conceive how it could be entertained for any length of time, by any persons who considered not the genius of the British Constitution merely, which is totally adverse to any such system, but the genius and propensities of mankind.

The conversations in Lord Charlemont's library, did not turn now so much on books and literature as formerly. Far less agreeable topics were reluctantly but necessarily discussed there. His spirits, however, received at this time, a considerable, though temporary improvement by the Noble Victory of Lord Howe, which, with other matter, is alluded to in the following letter :

Dublin, June 23d, 1794.

Never, sure, was any thing more seasonable than the arrival of your exhilarating letter. Half a year older than I am ! Why, man, you are ten years younger. The French fleet, undoubtedly, fought well, but not, surely, from having got rid of their nobility ; a set of men, who, though no favourites of mine, were brave, spirited, and animated by a point of honour, which is now replaced by a spirit of enthusiasm. If any thing could add to my joy for so important a victory, it would be the deserved credit which Lord Howe has thereby obtained ; whose conduct, as well as courage, have scarcely been paralleled. I have known his whole family for many years, and to have known them, is, in other words, to say that I have loved, and

highly respected them. Yet was this the man, whom a parcel of ignorant, lazy lubbers dared to impeach by the fire-side.——Washington is, indeed, a man, whose lustre would be alone sufficient to irradiate the darkest age. If Mr. Pitt does not take advantage of the time allowed him, he will certainly be answerable for all the consequences. But I really hope these matters will be amicably adjusted. You give me great pleasure, by telling me that Brownlow* is better. Conolly,† with whom you wish to be acquainted, is a man of excellent heart, and a good share of whimsical parts; he has, however, great oddities, and his conversation not always equal to his talents. He has one quality, which will with you, I am confident, weigh much to his advantage; he loves me, I really believe, with great sincerity. Lady Louisa is a paragon of excellence.‡ Mobs are, in general, by no means pleasant; but that of London, to the mob of Paris, is an assembly of polite philosophers. I have a curious article of intelligence, in a letter of excellent authority, from London. Among the other wonders of this wonderful war, there is none more surprising, than that, in their perpetual change of generals, every new man seems to act just as well as his predecessor. The fact is, that at the Revolution, the corps of artillery, certainly the best corps in France, adhered to the Revolutionists. From among those have been selected sixteen, who form the council of war, and four of these are continually sitting. They have before them maps of the various theatres of war, maps drawn by their former great engineers, so perfectly correct, that they see, at a glance, every spot of the country. Over these they fight their battles; and couriers, constantly in waiting, convey their orders to the generals, who have thus no latitude allowed them. In some of the late actions, the prisoners taken by us did not know their general's name; but only said that, as

* The Right Honourable William Brownlow.

† The late Right Honourable Thomas Conolly, brother in law to the Duke of Richmond, and nephew to the Earl of Strafford. He represented the county of Derry in the Irish House of Commons, and was also a member of the British Parliament for many years. He was a most honest man. His magnificent House, at Castletown, where he so long exercised the truest hospitality, in the noblest manner, deserves to be held in lasting remembrance.

‡ Lady Louisa Conolly, sister to the late Duke of Richmond.

they heard, he was newly appointed. By these means, all commanders are alike, and none is enabled to make a powerful party in his army."*

Towards the middle of July Lord Charlemont proposed going to Belfast, and reviewing the Volunteers there; but I know not what numbers then appeared under arms; and the institution was now fading fast away. During the course of this month, a large addition was made to the British cabinet, and such parliamentary strength given to the minister, as he had never before, even in the fulness of all his power, experienced. The Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Windham, and others, who not only differed from Mr. Fox, as to the propriety of the war with France, but were most ardent in its prosecution, accepted official situations, and became cabinet ministers. The influence of these arrangements was, of course, immediately felt in Ireland, and a change in the Lieutenancy was confidently talked of. The management of Ireland had, according to the general supposition, been given to the Duke of Portland; and this, it is said, was one of the first points conceded by Mr. Pitt, on the formation of this new coalition. Mr. Grattan and Mr. Ponsonby were sent for, by some of their friends in England. They went there, and every thing seemed to announce some alteration in the Irish Viceroyalty. Lord Fitzwilliam was very early spoken of as the New Lieutenant. The prospect of such appointment was truly acceptable to Lord Charlemont. The character of Earl Fitzwilliam, his princely fortune in this country, which he inherited from his revered uncle, the Marquis of Rockingham; all these circumstances were, to Lord Charlemont, peculiarly grateful. But it appears, from his letters, that great doubts hung on Earl Fitzwilliam's appointment.

In the course of the autumn, his friend Haliday was called upon to attend Mr. Brownlow,† at his seat at Lurgan, in the county of Armagh; and to that truly respectable gentleman's illness the three subsequent letters chiefly allude:

Dublin, October 18th, 1794.

Many thanks, my dearest Doctor, for your intelligence, disagreeable

* The authenticity of this intelligence, has, I am told, been denied.

† The late Right Honourable William Brownlow, Member for the county of Armagh, in Ireland. He was father to the present Countess of Darnley, the Viscountesses Powerscourt and De Vesci, &c.

as it is. Anxiety is, perhaps, a worse pain than the certainty of ill; and yet, so whimsical is our nature, we are always apt to prefer the former to the latter. Whilst there is life, there is hope; and however bad your account may be, I will not despair. Indeed, in the present dearth of good men, we could ill afford the loss of one so excellent: at all events, he will have every succour that art can give; and the firmness and excellence of his own mind will not only aid the efforts of his physician, but, if the worst should happen, help to console his friends. Our unaccountable uncertainty respecting Lord Fitzwilliam still remains.

Dublin, October 27th, 1794.

Thank you for your last bulletin, which was somewhat consolatory—but I fear—Alas! poor Brownlow! when shall we see his like again? A thousand qualities of head and heart had raised my affectionate regard on the true basis of esteem; and now his dying goodness towards me has changed that affection into real tenderness.——That Caulfield* should represent the county, must undoubtedly be my warm wish, but he is not of age; at the general election, I meant to offer him to the favour and protection of his country. Some pretensions he has; he is naturally honest; educated in the principles of real patriotism; and his father has not been an absolutely idle citizen.—Pardon me, if I be too presumptuous; it is in behalf of a son.

Dublin, October 20th, 1794.

This morning has brought me your short but mournful letter, every line of which teems with regret. Such is the lot of man! and the only consolation the survivors can expect, must consist in the enjoyment of that reputation, which our departed friend has left behind him. *Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei vitabit libitinam*, is not only an incentive to virtue, which Heaven itself has impressed on our minds, but a real comfort in that greatest of misfortunes, the loss of those we loved and esteemed."

It is impossible for any one who sat and voted with Mr. Brownlow, for several years, in Parliament, to pass over his death without offering some tribute to his memory. His ancestors had, for more than a century, repre-

* Lord Caulfield, now Earl of Charlemont.

sented the county of Armagh, and he himself became one of its members very early in life. His election was not only severely contested, but became afterwards the source of a most notable trial of parliamentary strength between Primate Stone and Mr. Boyle. Mr. Brownlow had been espoused by the former. The only question regarded, at that time, in the Committee of Elections, was, whether the petitioner or sitting member was most favoured by those who had most parliamentary influence. Nothing else was thought on. This was indecorous in the extreme; but it was not an indecorum of which our House of Commons had a monopoly, as, till Mr. Grenville's bill, something of a similar profligacy prevailed in St. Stephen's chapel. The division on the Westminster election first shook, and that on the Chippenham contest removed, Sir Robert Walpole.* To this field of battle, then, this parliamentary Philippi, if I may be allowed the phrase, the opposing chiefs always resorted, and decided their pretensions to power. The Primate carried Mr. Brownlow's election, I think, by one vote, in a very full House. The struggle was violent. Mr. Brownlow retained his situation upwards of forty years, and was one of the most independent members that ever sat in the House of Commons of Ireland. Whenever he spoke, he was heard with peculiar attention and respect. To oratorial powers he laid no claim; but he delivered his sentiments with uncommon perspicuity, great neatness, great elegance, and, occasionally, with a tempered fire and spirit, which were felt by every one around him: he never spoke at any length. With the rules and proceedings of the House he was well acquainted; and had so general a knowledge of parliamentary affairs, that, on the resignation of the Speaker's chair by Mr. Ponsonby, he was proposed to succeed him, and very nearly obtained it. He had many accomplishments; music he understood accurately, and the agreeable opera of Midas † was, in some measure, planned, the airs rehearsed, and altogether prepared for the stage, at his house. With the acquirements of the men of rank and fashion of his day, he had their manners, which were more polished than familiar; but that deportment, which

* In an interview with Mr. Pelham, then Minister, Mr. Dodington frankly acknowledges, that he, (Mr. Pelham) could turn out two or more gentlemen, on a petition, notwithstanding their undisputed election at a particular Borough, or even County. They were Dodington's Parliamentary friends. I quote from memory. See his Diary.

† This original and very popular Opera, was written by Kane O'Hara, Esq. a man of talents and genius.

was serious and dignified, contributed not a little to the gentleman-like air, and agreeable solemnity, which formerly distinguished the House of Commons. It has long since vanished.

Doubts still continued as to Lord Fitzwilliam's coming over. Lord Charlemont's anxiety was increased to the utmost: he was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of his friends who had gone to England; but the agreeable expectations which he entertained from the arrival of the new Viceroy, were extremely damped by the coldness which prevailed in part of the North, and the indifference with which they regarded any change of Lord Lieutenants. If the system meant to be pursued was precisely the same as that which had preceded it, or slightly varying, such indifference would have been very natural; but the people had no reason whatever to imagine that such would be the case; the character alone of the persons who went from Ireland forbade it. They certainly were not negotiators at a congress for the general pacification of Europe; but though they could not close the war, they might, perhaps, be enabled to close the internal differences, or at least, many of the wounds of their own country. If all could not be done, yet something might be done. But the truth is, that some of the leaders of the United Irishmen, whose sole object was an Irish republic, regarded any measure that had the least tendency to conciliate, or amend our condition, with as much abhorrence as others contemplated it with satisfaction. Hence the diffusion of their own spleen among the people. The name of a popular Lord Lieutenant was odious to them, as it tended to weaken their interest in confusion. The old Castle adherent, who would have risqued any perpetuation of abuses, for the sake of his place, detested a melioration of system as much as the United Irishman; he was, in truth, as was said of Pompey, *Occultior, non melior;* for both, in different ways, would have sacrificed their country for their own purposes. Too many of the people, with their usual and sad facility, lent a willing ear to both; it cannot, therefore, be wondered at, that Lord Charlemont had much chagrin, joined to much satisfaction.

Dublin, November 28th, 1794.*

The precise terms on which the accommodation has taken place, are not yet known to me; but I am thoroughly convinced that Lord Fitzwilliam

* To Dr. Haliday.

would not accept, nor our friends engage themselves, without such concessions as will be honourable to the country, he is sent to govern; and you will, I doubt not, find that our negotiators have acted throughout with honour, particularly the Ponsonbys, who will, I believe, be found to have risqued a situation, of all others to them the most desirable, rather than consent to any compromise, by which this country was not essentially served. If such shall be found to be their conduct, public gratitude is most certainly their due; of which if they are deprived, the people will be to blame, and unworthy of their service. But alas! what, in this country at least, is public gratitude? A sudden emotion, which scarcely ever outlasts the benefit, and is sunk into its contrary, by the first popular whim. Yet, surely the people act against their own interest, in suffering patriotism to be its own reward; though, in my opinion, no guerdon can be greater than the blessing of self-approbation. This sentiment, I fear, will not be universal."

At length Earl Fitzwilliam arrived in Ireland, on the 4th of January, 1795, and Lord Charlemont once more appeared at the Castle. It has been often, too often, confidently asserted, that the party with which Lord Charlemont co-operated, was, in fact, nothing more than a mere postcript, and humble adjunct to the great opposition in England, which, on every momentous question, was consulted, and nothing done in Ireland without the concurrence of the English leaders. It is necessary to notice this charge of party, at the period we have now entered on. The opposition here, as it was said, followed Mr. Fox implicitly. That great Statesman opposed the war. The minority in Ireland supported it. Earl Fitzwilliam did not come here from the Cabinet of Mr. Fox, but Mr. Pitt. Lord Charlemont's sentiments did not coincide with Mr. Pitt's in many respects, yet he thought, that with candour and liberality to Ireland, on the part of that minister, much good might be effected. For the persons and principles of the Whig party, the leaders of opposition here, had, indeed, a strong, and well-founded predilection, and when the Duke of Portland, under whom the settlement of 1782 was made, came into office, they naturally looked for the adoption of some measures beneficial to Ireland. Such were their sentiments in the autumn of 1794. Any thing that has since taken place

cannot at all destroy the propriety of such sentiments at that time. Deeply indeed did they lament that Mr. Fox was not one of his Majesty's ministers. But that most eminent, honourable Statesman, had good reasons for his conduct, with which, except as general members of the empire, the Irish gentlemen I have mentioned had nothing to do. Their first duty was to attend to Ireland, and by serving Ireland to serve England. According to this mode of thinking did they act, and by their proffered councils, when called on, contributed to bring Lord Fitzwilliam to Ireland. In those councils Lord Charlemont had no immediate share; but there was no person, whose co-operation, they, or, I believe, Lord Fitzwilliam considered as so indispensably necessary. It is scarcely possible to give any narrative of Irish parliamentary affairs, without endeavouring, at least, to clear it of that misrepresentation which has clogged almost every part of it since 1782, particularly at this juncture.

The reader must certainly have always greater satisfaction in hearing Lord Charlemont than his biographer. The two letters which follow, display, far better than I can, his feelings as to Earl Fitzwilliam, and his gratification in the appointments which were made, almost immediately after his arrival.

Dublin, Jan. 10th, 1795.*

"What is become of you, my dearest Doctor? I have not heard from you the Lord knows when. Mine was, certainly, the last letter, but hang etiquette! Well, the wished-for change has, at length, taken place. I cannot avoid flattering myself, that we have now got a chief governor, who comes over with the best intentions, and the strongest desire of doing us all the good in his power. Already we have had a foretaste, and earnest of his administration. Regardless of ministerial influence, or convenience, he has restored the University to its rights, and has placed at the head of the Church, a Prelate, not from recommendation, but from character, and whose unassuming virtue, conduct, principles, and erudition, have alone recommended him to that high office. In both these appointments public utility has alone been considered. Murray,† could possibly have had no protection

* To Dr. Haliday.

† The Reverend Doctor Murray, late Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

but his own intrinsic merit, and Newcome,* had no English patron but Charles Fox. From such commencement, it would be uncharitable, and even foolish, not to indulge the most sanguine hopes, both with respect to him, and his principal advisers. And here I cannot avoid repeating, what I have often inculcated, that much public gratitude is due, and ought, in propriety and policy, to be paid to the Ponsonbys, who have hitherto acted a manly, consistent, and disinterested part.

Dublin, Jan. 31st, 1795.†

I have been, and am, extremely ill, my dear Doctor; ever since that unlucky accident by which I was so long deprived of air and exercise, those necessaries of life on which I live full as much as meat and drink, I never have known a moment's health. In a word, the above-mentioned privation of that by which my health was sustained, seems to have accelerated the progress of old age; and though not above half a year older, I am ten years weaker than I was. This change has happened too, at a time, in all respects, the most inconvenient, when, on the one hand, the present very alarming situation of affairs may very possibly render necessary for me, exertions which I may be no longer able to make; while, on the other, the only hopeful administration I have yet seen, strongly invites me to join all my efforts in behalf of that which I verily believe to be their principal object, the public weal. I may be mistaken, my dearest Haliday, and my sanguine hopes may be deceived; but I really think we have a chief governor, whose warmest wish is to do us all the good he can, and whose powers, if not equal to all we would wish, will most certainly enable him to be of the greatest service to this ill-treated country.

The Lord Lieutenant met Parliament the 25th January. Mr. Grattan, (a novel circumstance,) moved the address in the House of Commons, which

* The Right Reverend William Newcome, late Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland. A most learned and amiable prelate, who, by the excellence of his conduct, and benignity of deportment, conciliated the regard of all parties. Mr. Fox was truly attached to him. His Grace had been tutor to that eminent man, when Mr. Fox was student at Hertford College, Oxford.

† To Dr. Haliday.

was carried without a division. The same harmony prevailed in the Lords. The Catholics of the city of Dublin presented a petition by the hands of Mr. Grattan, praying a repeal of all the penal and restrictive laws then affecting the Catholics of Ireland. Various petitions followed from every part of the kingdom. Mr. Grattan obtained leave to bring in a bill for their relief. There were but three negatives to the resolution. Every thing as yet announced a tranquil and happy session. But, as usual, the parliamentary horizon was soon clouded. For several days previous to the 26th of February, a rumour had prevailed that the British ministry was adverse to the proceedings of the Irish Cabinet; *that* rumour soon after added, that the Lord Lieutenant's recal was determined on, and before the 26th, all uncertainty was at an end, and his intended removal was generally known, but not formally avowed in Parliament. On the 2d of March, Sir Laurence Parsons* expressed his concern at the rumoured change of a Lord Lieutenant, which he deprecated as a great national evil. "If the British Cabinet," he said, "had agreed to the Catholic measure, and then withdrew their support from it, and with it Lord Fitzwilliam, the Dæmon of darkness could not have done more mischief. If the Irish Cabinet had brought forward the Catholic question, without the actual concurrence of the British ministers, that Cabinet was certainly highly responsible." He then moved, that the words in the money bill should be changed from the 25th of March to the 25th of May. He was well seconded by Mr. Duquery, but the motion was opposed by Lord Fitzwilliam's particular friends, as tending to excite alarm. Mr. Conolly then moved, that Earl Fitzwilliam had, by his conduct, since his arrival, merited the thanks of the House, and the confidence of the people. This passed unanimously. A similar motion was made in the Upper House, by the Duke of Leinster, but their Lordships were, on this occasion, better courtiers than the Commons, and it did not pass with quite so much harmony. This very succinct account of what passed in Parliament, on this eventful occasion, cannot be passed over, without doing some justice to Sir Laurence Parsons and Mr.

* Sir Laurence, at that time Member for the King's County in Ireland. He is now, (1807) Earl of Ross.

Duquery.* Never did two men act more disinterestedly. For Lord Fitzwilliam they entertained the truest respect, but they stood aloof from his administration, so far merely, as not to support the war; but, on the great question of the Catholics, they were prepared to uphold him; and when his Lordship was removed, they paid every tribute to the high honour, and undeviating probity of his conduct. The following words of Sir Laurence Parsons can never be forgotten. "I never witnessed such ominous infatuation as that by which the Minister is led. If he perseveres, the army must be increased to myriads, and every man must have five or six dragoons in his house." When he said this, he spoke like an honest, and, indeed, prophetic Statesman. Thus, in two months, closed the administration of Earl Fitzwilliam. That administration, as long as Ireland cherishes integrity, or a love of concord, and national unanimity, must be remembered with gratitude and respect. It did much, and had it been so permitted, would have done much more. The negotiation relative to Lord Fitzwilliam's acceptance of the Viceroyalty, and the Catholic claims, an event, in which Lord Charlemont was no way concerned, cannot be entered into here. It belongs to another place. Indeed, from Earl Fitzwilliam's letters to Lord Carlisle, and several other documents, few measures of such importance have been attended with more publicity.

It is of consequence, at all times, that openness and candour should accompany ministerial instructions to persons in high, responsible situations; particularly indeed, where not only the immediate tranquillity, but the happiness, for ages, of a great nation, may be deeply involved. No event almost, within the last century, convulsed Ireland more than this abrupt and unfortunate recal. Lord Charlemont often, and in terms the least measured, declared, that it was utterly

* The late Henry Duquery, Esq. a member of the House of Commons, and one of the principal ornaments of the bar in Ireland. An uninterrupted friendship of more than thirty years subsisted between him and the author of these memoirs, by whom he must ever be lamented. His friendship would have done credit to any one, for never yet existed a man of sweeter manners and higher honour. His talents were of no common rate, and admirably adapted to business; united as they were to superior clearness, and perspicuity of intellect. He was nephew to Mr. Hutchinson, father to Lord Hutchinson, and died, truly regretted, a few years since.

ruinous. *His* opinion was not influenced by the sudden dereliction of the Catholic question. But he well knew, that to the discontents of the Catholics, and the mortification of the hopes of every constitutional man throughout the kingdom, would be added, the malign joy of each agitator, and fomenter of discord, to whom such an event as this would, of all others, convey the most untoward satisfaction. He well knew that the cry would soon be raised, and louder than ever, against British influence, and he had less now to oppose to that cry, than he had two months before. He well knew that no pencil would be wanting to depict the British Cabinet sending forth good Viceroys, or good ministers to Ireland, and then instantaneously bidding them disappear.

"Shew its eyes, and grieve its heart,
Come like shadows, so depart."

To Mr. Forbes and Mr. Ponsonby he said, "In spite of every wicked machination, we had the mass of the people with us last New Year's Day, and, if we do not make some exertion, next Christmas Day may see them in the hands of the United Irishmen." That Lord Fitzwilliam's Viceroyalty would have banished all discontent I cannot suppose; but that, if the Catholic claims had then been settled, or some parliamentary reform taken place, rebellion would not have reared its head, I am willing to believe. To arrange a Catholic question, and a reform, in such a manner as not to injure the Constitution in church or state, would have required the abilities and knowledge of the most provident and intelligent politicians. A very extensive reform, with the aid of the elective franchise, as granted two years before, would alone have operated a far greater change, than could be at all wished for. Yet a limited one would not have satisfied; a season of more complicated political difficulty than the present has seldom presented itself.

Before I dismiss the subject of Earl Fitzwilliam's administration, let me be permitted to add, that, as that nobleman had, to make use of the words of the House of Commons, by his conduct merited the confidence of the people, his personal deportment was such as to gratify, to the utmost, all who approached him. The day of his departure from the Castle of Dublin

cannot be effaced from the memory of those who witnessed it. A versatile and unprincipled courtier, an infuriated bigot, a mischievous enthusiast, or unrelenting rebel, might have beheld that departure, and the emotions of the multitude, with smiles and with complacency. But as he was on the point of embarking for England, the indignation and concern which sat on the countenances of the crowds which surrounded him, most feelingly displayed the downfal of their noblest hopes, and the truth of the Roman adage, as applied to Ireland;

"Breves, et infaustos, populi Romani Amores!"

Lord Camden succeeded him. Some of the unpleasant circumstances that attended his arrival, and the departure of his predecessor, are taken notice of by Lord Charlemont, in the following letter to Dr. Haliday:

"Dublin, April 2d, 1795.

"If you had not already seen the letters to Lord Carlisle, I should have sent you copies of them, as it would have been painful to me to suppose, that the man whom I love and esteem, was not fully vindicated in your opinion, and vindicated I am sure he must be, by the slightest perusal of their astonishing contents. The departure of Earl Fitzwilliam was, as it ought to have been, solemn and mournful. Never did I see so well-regulated a mob, if mob it could be called, which chiefly consisted of decent, and well-dressed people. The day before yesterday his successor arrived, and his arrival was, they tell me, marked with no small degree of riot. The clangor of trumpets could scarcely drown the hissings of the people. Many windows were broken; several very foolishly in the Custom-House, where a man is said to have been killed. The Chancellor, it is said, was pursued by a parcel of blackguard boys, and putting his head out of the window to order his coachman to drive on, some little David hit this Goliah on the forehead with a stone. The hurt is of no consequence, but the vulgar tale is, that the surgeon assured him, that if the stone had been better directed, and thrown with more force, he might have been seriously wounded. A

patch is, however, a badge of honour at Court. The Speaker's windows were broken, and some of the rioters were taken, and the remainder speedily dispersed by a party of cavalry. All this, however, though not surprizing, is extremely disagreeable. P. S. A Proclamation has issued, in which the Primate's coach is said to have been attacked. It was indeed attacked, but by mistake, and the mob, finding their error, instantly apologized. I hear of no houses assaulted, but the Speaker's, the Custom-House, and the Chancellor's. For all this I am really sorry, especially as it happened on the occasion of the Lords Justices delivering up their sword to the new Lieutenant. Mobs, moreover, are bad things, and ought to be discouraged by every well-wisher to the public weal."

Mr. Pelham, who had been Secretary to the Earl of Northington, was now appointed Secretary to Lord Camden. At any other time he would have been acceptable to Lord Charlemont. The same may be said of the new Viceroy. There were but few of the chief men in opposition, who had not listened with pleasure to the lively, simple, and energetic eloquence of his venerable father, the friend of Lord Chatham! No one admired the good old Earl Camden more,* as I well know, than Lord Charlemont. A predilection for Whig principles, joined to fondness for literature, always gained access to him, and both were conspicuously united in Lord Camden. Often have I heard Lord Charlemont speak with delight of the simplicity, purity, and variety of his conversation. The manners of the present Viceroy were popular, and his connexions in Ireland, were of great respectability. All these circumstances, as I have already stated, would, in other days, have had their weight; but the ungracious, sudden recal of the late Viceroy, the interruption of the Catholic question, and the supposed domination of the old part of the British Cabinet over their new auxiliaries, altogether indisposed the friends of Lord Fitzwilliam, in Ireland, to the administration of his successor. Not so the House of Commons. "Its learning and good breeding such," it supported Lord Camden, as it had supported Lord Fitzwilliam; and had Lord Fitzwilliam again returned, even in the middle of the session, again would Lord Fitzwilliam have been

* See further, Appendix.

supported. This too obliging disposition was the secret, or open triumph of the disaffected, and source of honest complaint to all who loved good government. It performed more than knight's service for the United Irishmen.

A motion for an enquiry into the state of the nation, was made by Mr. Grattan, and negatived. Lord Fitzwilliam's recal occupied the attention of both Houses of the British Parliament, and without effect. It was thought prudent however here, not to object to the adoption of some of the measures of the former administration, and we find Lord Charlemont, with great candour, acknowledging this wise policy, as far as it went. I return to his correspondence.

"Dublin, April 6th, 1795.*

"I send you, under three covers, a small work, which I have lately received from its author, Monsieur D'Ivernois,† an old acquaintance of mine, of great merit, and indisputable veracity, and who, from his being a native of Geneva, and intimately connected with the commenc ments of the late Revolution there, must be allowed the fittest person to write on the interesting subject he has undertaken. The composition is good, but, above all, it appears to me to contain an excellent antidote against the poison of certain opinions, which have, I fear, been but too prevalent. A single experiment carries with it more force than twenty arguments.

"I have seen Robert,‡ and have given him but little comfort with regard to his friend's administration. I cannot but love him, yet, why so Be-Pitted? Our present chief I have not seen, though perhaps in that our conduct may not be perfectly right, but such, at least, are our feelings."

"Dublin, April 27th, 1795.

"I am glad you like D'Ivernois. The work is well translated, but is still, as is usually the case, far better written in the original French. The reign of terror, you say, is over. For the present, I believe it is; but how can we

* To Dr. Haliday,

† Sir Francis D'Ivernois.

‡ Robert Stewart, now Lord Viscount Castlereagh, eldest son to the Earl of Londonderry.

trust to the natural levity of a people, unconstrained by laws, and even by morals; not to speak of that great bond of society, religion, which is well nigh extirpated? The Catholic bill has been brought in, which is, indeed, a sweeper. It will be debated on this day se'nnight, and will, for the present, be negatived. They talk, however, of a swinging minority, which will probably insure the future success of this measure, or, at least, of something like it. My health is still the same, not according to Queen Anne's motto, '*Semper eadem*,' which was, by a good Whig of her days, translated, 'always worse, and worse.'

"Jackson has been found guilty, on the fullest evidence. A gentleman, who attended the trial, assures me, that there was twenty times more proof of real guilt brought forward in this case, than in all the London prosecutions put together."

"Dublin, May 28th, 1795.*

"The Fitzwilliam controversy is, by no means, finally closed, as the House of Commons is still to take its share, and, most probably, more than its share, as the speakers there are less tender than the more polished Lords. Much good has been done in this session, as all Lord Fitzwilliam's measures, those, I mean, which were begun in his time, have been put into execution, one only excepted, of which you know my opinion. The important treasury, that is to say, responsibility bill, has been perfectly carried. A good police bill has passed, and an election bill, which will, I hope, be of service, by simplifying the laws, and lessening the expense."

The Lord Lieutenant, as might be expected, wished much for the support of Lord Charlemont. He well appreciated its value. If, however, that could not be obtained, or, at least, to the extent that was looked for, Lord Camden expressed his desire, (which was laudable, and gentleman-like,) that no difference in political sentiments should prevent their personal intercourse. To this Lord Charlemont returned a suitable answer, but good-humouredly expressed his doubts, whether Sir Boyle Roche, (the master of the ceremonies,) would not forbid their meeting, as he had not been at the Castle. At

* To the same.

this time also, he was much indisposed. The Lord Lieutenant, with great civility, passed over all etiquette, and went to Charlemont-House. The visit was, of course, immediately returned, but it did not extend their connexion. On looking back to this period, it is, indeed, a matter of much regret, that something was not done, some plan of conciliating politics adopted, which, though it could not immediately embrace every point, on which statesmen differed, might still give that aid which administration wanted. Majorities it was not deficient in; but they only gave ministerial strength, and none to the country. Public opinion was still wanting, and that sort of public care, which could give vigour, not violence, to the councils of the Lord Lieutenant. Though the Catholic question could not then be conceded, *that* question, surely, though the most important, did not form the whole of Irish policy; nor was it then, or indeed at any time, to be admitted as a maxim, that because a particular question is not immediately acquiesced in, that every other question should be neglected, coldly supported, or perhaps violently opposed. As Lord Charlemont, at this time, did not relish the Catholic bill, he could, with more consistency, have supported Lord Camden, than his coadjutors, who had protested against a junction with any ministry, that would not adopt that bill. If, however, *they* favoured that measure, Lord Charlemont equally favoured a parliamentary reform, and neither Catholic bill, nor reform, would be listened to. Hence, *his* standing aloof. But, above all, the British Cabinet, from its behaviour to Lord Fitzwilliam, could not be confided in by the opposition. Meantime the United Irishmen pressed forward; the old land marks of the Constitution began to be lost sight of, and one violence to be opposed to another. This state of things is strongly marked in most part of Lord Charlemont's remaining correspondence. I lament it. The reader must be exhausted. But I can afford him no variety.

There are few traces, at this time, of much literary intercourse between Lord Charlemont and many of his friends. Mr. Melmoth's* letter to him is, at least, a proof of the constant attention which he paid to men of letters.

* William Melmoth, Esq. so well known as the Translator of Cicero's Letters to several of his friends, many of his works, &c.

He had renewed his connection with this amiable gentleman, when at Bath, and knew how to appreciate his literary attainments, though Dr. Johnson did not.*

My Lord,

I wish it were in my power to express, as strongly as I feel, those sentiments which your Lordship's letter has impressed upon me, but I can only request your acceptance of my warmest thanks, and appeal to your justice to be assured, that no man can set a higher value than I do, on the honour of your approbation, or is more ambitious to obtain it. I consider, as among the most desirable incidents of my life, that I have formerly, often enjoyed the pleasure and advantage of Lord Charlemont's conversation, and I never retired from his company without having occasion to think of that friend of Horace, whom he represents as "*ad unguem factus homo.*" My very advanced period of life will not suffer me to indulge a hope, that I shall ever enjoy that gratification again; nor, indeed, can I even allow myself to wish it, because I am persuaded, that nothing but indisposition can induce you to revisit these waters. You will never cease, however, to be present to my memory, so long as I shall retain any recollection of those persons, whom I most love and esteem; for I am, with the truest regard and affection,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged, and faithful humble servant,

Wm. Melmoth.

Bath, June 1st, 1795.

Lord Charlemont will be best seen in his letters; and those to his excellent medical friend pourtray him much better than any others which I have seen.

Dublin, September 21st, 1795.

Since our wonderful West India weather has given place to a temperature of air more congenial to our northern constitutions, my giddiness has greatly abated, and my head is tolerably steady, indeed wonderfully so, considering the general state of heads in this vertiginous age. At dinner I

* See Boswell's Life of Johnson.

eat little or nothing, having almost ascertained the discovery of a secret, which, in this country, would be of the greatest utility, namely, that eating is not necessary to life. But, alas! what a wretched answer is this to your sprightly, and most entertaining letter, replete as it is with good humour. I find, however, some comfort in being dull, since my own inability serves to assure me, that the man who can write as you do, must be in health. I am glad that you have seen your cousins,* and am happy that I am likely again to see them, as by your account they are to repass through Dublin. He is, indeed, a truly amiable man, and my lady, with whom I have not the honour of being acquainted, is much esteemed, and liked by all who know her. Mr. Dance has, as I am told, made but a bad head of my head. But, no matter, he has been fortunate in your's, of which, thanks to the excellent Lady Londonderry, we have some chance of a copy.

Dublin, October 24th, 1795.

Short indeed must this note be, for I am ill able to write, and though from having swallowed the bark of a Peruvian Forest, the malady is now a good deal mitigated, still I am so depressed, that neither my head, nor my eyes, will obey, and second my wish of a long conversation with you. Bodily disease, and bodily pain, must always affect the mind, and more especially, a mind already sore, from various causes, but particularly from an incessant and painful contemplation of the melancholy and alarming state to which is now reduced that country, which has been ever so dear to my heart; and that too, not only from the wretched mismanagement of others, but in a great measure from her own fault. To you I need not say how ardently I have ever loved my country. In consequence of that love, I have courted her; I have even married her, and taken her for life; and she is now turned out a shrew, tormenting herself, and all her nearest connections. But no more of this, for indeed I can write no more.

* Lord and Lady Frederick Campbell, who were at this time in Ireland. Lord Frederick was, I believe, a relation of Mrs. Haliday, whose maiden name was Edmonstone, a most respectable family in Scotland.

"Dublin, January 4th, 1796.*

"Had it not been for the favourable account from Bath, of the consequent ball and masquerade, your last letter, which appeared to me so long in coming, would have left me with spirits depressed indeed. But, thank fate, your anxiety is in some measure removed, and with it, I trust, your complaints will disappear. Upon the state of my health I will not dwell, as I have no pleasing circumstance to relate, yet I still struggle on through increasing years, bad weather, and horrid times, and, according to the precept inculcated by a very wise, though very vulgar proverb, "Endeavour to make the best of a bad market." Hamilton's† promotion is, indeed, a very pleasing incident, and does much honour to Lord Camden. When you see our amiable Viscountess,‡ congratulate her, in my name, on this good conduct of her brother."

In the course of this year, Ireland was the seat of every species of disturbance. The defenders raged with almost uncontrolled fury. The county of Armagh was every day more agitated by religious warfare. The Orange Institution was formed this year. Its sole object was repeatedly declared to be the support of the Constitution, as established by King William. But, if its enemies speak the truth, it breathed nothing of that wise, and great monarch's tolerating spirit. With the History of Lord Charlemont it has nothing to do. Lord Camden met the Parliament, January, 1796. Opposition, if it now could be called so, was shrunk into a very narrow stream. Its numbers seldom consisted of more than sixteen. Often not half that number. If the great majority that prevailed, had displayed the calm, impartial spirit of constitutional senators, it would have had almost irresistible effect on the minds of the people, but this was not the case. "What was the temper observable in that House?" said Sir Laurence Parsons, "on the Insurrection Bill." Every thing said, however violent against the disturbers of the peace, was received with plaudits; but if any thing was said to soften over-charged resentments, and to mix mercy with punishment, it was

* The same.

† Dr. Hugh Hamilton, promoted to the Bishoprick of Ossory. He had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. A man of intrinsic worth, science, and genius.

‡ Now Countess of Londonderry, sister to Earl Camden.

heard with discontent and murmurs. Liberty of speech was questioned. The most unworthy motives were assigned. They (the minority,) were called advocates for disturbers, and for what? Because, though willing to concur in powerful laws for their suppression, they would not, with a savage ferocity, consider nothing but their vices, and refuse to offer some humane consideration, to sooth, if possible, the exacerbated feelings of the times! That these disturbers must be put down they all agreed. The difference was as to the mode.

To public distress, and feeling for his countrymen, Lord Charlemont was now doomed to experience the addition of much concern, and anxiety, for the health of his friend Haliday, which, at this time, began, though slowly, to give way. Lord Charlemont was unremitting in his attention to him.

" Dublin, May 16th, 1796.*

" Though I could not help being uneasy at your silence, yet, as it is both natural and wise to endeavour to palliate uneasiness, by hoping the best, I succeeded in persuading myself that you were prevented from writing, by your usual professional excursions; and I even added the comfort of thinking, that the constant exercise, which you were thus compelled to take, might very possibly be salutary to you. But your letter has awakened me from this pleasing dream; and I find, with true concern, that you have, unfortunately, been more occupied by illness than by business. There is, however, in the distressing account which you give of yourself, one circumstance, from which my heart extracts much consolation. Amusement, you say, has still the power to dissipate, if not to conquer, your ailment; if so, I trust it is no more than a nervous affection, and consequently within the reach of regimen. Do you drink tea? If you do, leave it entirely. Many years ago, I was alarmed, and tormented with the most violent palpitation, which returned every night, and kept me in torture for hours together. By the advice of Dr. Barry,† I left off tea, which I have never tasted since, and my cure was

* To Dr. Haliday.

† Sir Edward Barry, a very eminent physician of Dublin, who afterwards retired to Bath. He is well known to the literary world, as author of the Essay on the wines of the ancients.

immediate; nor has the disorder ever returned. I have often seen our dear Viscountess,* though not near so often as I would have wished. To-morrow she is to set out for the North, so that I must, for the present, lose her; and have no other consolation for the loss, but that you will be a gainer by it. In addition to every estimable and pleasing quality, she possesses one which must necessarily add a zest to them all;—she loves Lady Charlemont, and has, I flatter myself, some regard for me.——Our last news from Italy, bad as it is, gives us, at least, the consolation of hoping, that when things are at the worst they must mend. That our friend Burke should have chosen to play a principal part in this horrid drama, is, indeed, provoking. Alas! What is human nature, when prejudice can harden the best of hearts, and pervert the most brilliant talents. His attack upon the Duke of Bedford, is a perfect portrait of its author's mind. Great brilliancy, strong prejudices.† It is difficult to say how matters will end. A peace there must be, and yet I cannot think with patience on a *dishonourable one.*"

Amidst all his disquietudes, and multiplied occupations, Lord Charlemont always found an almost inexhaustible resource in the cultivation of letters. The language of Italy, he had ever a predilection for, and Mr. Cooper Walker,‡ who has so successfully presented the dramatic muse of that country to our acquaintance, was enabled by his interesting historic researches, in whatever related to a subject so novel, and agreeable, to afford his lordship much satisfaction and amusement. For that gentleman he entertained much esteem, and as that esteem was founded on his real worth and acquirements, his obliging manners gradually increased it to very cordial attachment. When Mr. Walker went to Italy, Lord Charlemont recommended him in a most particular manner to his old acquaintance, Sir William Hamilton, our envoy at Naples; and, indeed, on every occasion,

* Londonderry.

† Some parts of it, however, are exquisitely pathetic, especially where he speaks of Lord Keppel, and equal to any thing he ever wrote.

‡ Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. well known in the literary world, and most deservedly regarded by all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance.

he testified his regard for him. Several letters passed between them, relative to Italian literature. Two or three may be acceptable, for though not at all important, they present Lord Charlemont in various lights, and afford some diversity to the reader.

Dublin, July 3d, 1796.

Dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for your goodness in gratifying my passion for Italian poetry, by the communication of whatever may in any degree concern it. The idea of your friend's analysis is, I doubt not, new, but I do not immediately perceive its utility, as the variety of *interrhyming* in Petrarch's sonnets, is not in itself a matter of much importance, and as, without any scale, it is, in every instance, easily distinguishable at the first glance. In this judgment, however, I may be erroneous, from not having seen the full scope of what your friend has intended. The honour of inventing this species of poetry has never, that I know of, been ascribed to Petrarch, and you are certainly right in assigning it to Guitone d'Arezzo, unless we should agree, as I do not, with some criticks, who pretend that the formation of the sonnet was copied by the Italians from the provincial bards. Respecting the derivation of its name, your friend's conjecture may be ingenious, but is not, I believe, well-founded, as I may perhaps be able to prove to your satisfaction, when I shall have the pleasure of meeting you in my library. Your illness, and consequent absence from the academy, was a matter of deep regret to all those who wish well to the institution, and we should have done wrong to ourselves, if we had not given you a seat in the committee of antiquities, which, principally for want of you, has been ill attended this year. I have, with great pleasure, carefully perused Mr. Hayley's life of Milton, and think it by far his best performance, and perhaps one of the most capital pieces of biography in our language. Of Andreini's work I am possessed, and think, I must confess, less well of it than the ingenious vindicator of our great epic seems to do; but the *Adamo ed Eva* I never saw, and shall be much obliged to you for the perusal of it. All our ladies join in affectionate compliments to you, and Lady Charle-

mont in particular, desires to return her grateful acknowledgments for your kind attention to her entertainment.

I am, my dear Walker,
Your most faithful,
And most humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

P. S. I have not yet seen the *Essai sur la vie de M. Barthelemy,* and shall, when I can procure it, read it with peculiar pleasure, as I was once well accquainted with its very ingenious author.*

Dublin, December 8th, 1796.

My Dear Walker,

Perpetually occupied as I am with the incessant hurry of troublesome business, public and private, civil and military, it is scarcely possible that I should find a moment's leisure for a renewal of my correspondence with the muses, and with you; yet, though my weak eyes be at this instance, almost worn out with uninteresting scribbling, I will still further encroach upon them, briefly to return you my thanks for your last pleasing letter, which has afforded me much pleasure, by once more awakening in my mind my favourite passion, the love of literary pursuit. Marchmont we have procured, though we have not, as yet, found leisure to read it; and Lady Charlemont desires me to thank you, in her name, for the information you have given her respecting the poems, which, she doubts not, will contain a better portrait of the writer, than any that could be put into the engraver's hands. Roscoe's work most certainly possesses great merit; but I must finish this hasty scrawl, by assuring you, that I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate,
And most obedient servant,
CHARLEMONT.

To the best of my recollection, I requested you in my last letter to add my name to Major Ouseley's subscribers; of this I now beg leave to remind you.

* The Duc de Nivernois, already mentioned. He wrote this essay when in his Eightieth year.

Equally to oppose the foreign enemy, and domestic traitor, government had most prudently determined to raise Yeomanry corps throughout the kingdom. Infirm as Lord Charlemont was, he went down to his own county of Armagh, where he was of essential service, in promoting this great national object, from which such utility was afterwards derived. He slightly mentions his exertions in a letter to his friend.

" Armagh, September 26th, 1796.

" Here I am with the view of encouraging the raising of corps for the internal protection of the country in case of emergency; and how far I may be able to promote the execution of that necessary measure, as yet I know not; but you are well enough acquainted with my sentiments, to render it unnecessary for me to say, that where the safety of the country is at stake, no motive will ever be able to prevent my endeavours to assist it."

A short time, or just before he left Dublin on this eminently useful work, he had, as was too often the case at this period, much cause of mortification from some persons at Belfast. Sedition was at this time rising fast into treason, and however many might differ from the ministers, as to the mode of opposing it, there could be no difference whatever, in the well-affected, as to the absolute necessity of setting up some barrier, to which they could resort, and some standard by which they could be distinguished. A declaration of political sentiments, and general attachment to the constitution, was proposed at Belfast; the signature to which was by many declined. Such reluctance at such a period, would, as Lord Charlemont justly thought, infect the very life blood of national enterprize against the enemies of Ireland. We cannot wonder therefore, if, upon this occasion, he wrote the following indignant, and spirited letter:

Dublin, September 12th, 1796.*

What! Do the good people of your town consider it as a matter of very little moment, to be confounded in the mass of those whose principles they must detest? Is the present situation of this country, and more

* To Dr. Haliday.

especially of your neighbourhood, such as to render an avowal of amity to the constitution, a matter of very little moment? As for the arguments, if such they may be called, made use of by those who wished to refuse their signature, they are really too futile to deserve an answer. That the spirit of discontent has struck its roots deep indeed, I am, alas! well aware. But is it merely a spirit of discontent? I also am discontented; yet that shall not prevent me from endeavouring to save my country from destruction. But the spirit that has gone abroad, is, I fear, of a far worse nature, and proceeds from the machinations of a set of wretches, who wish for confusion, because by that alone they can hope to thrive. They wish for a restoration of Chaos, not from the hope, though that would be sufficiently foolish, that a better world might be created out of it, but, because they suppose that in the confusion of elements, the lightest must necessarily float at the top. The divine Milton, certainly no courtier, has well, and beautifully, pointed out the close connection which exists between Chaos and the author of all evil, where Satan addresses the powers and spirits of the nethermost abyss, in words not ill adapted to a modern anarchist.

"—— Direct my course;
" Directed no mean recompense it brings
" To your behoof, if I that region lost,
" All usurpation thence expelled, reduce
" To her original darkness, and your sway,
" Which is my present journey, and once more
" Erect the standard there of ancient night."

To whom the Anarch old answers, with the utmost kindness, and bids him, " Go, and speed." " Havoc and spoil, and ruin are my gain." There was a time when my opinion might have had some little weight at Belfast, but those halcyon days are fled. My only consolation is, that *I* am no way changed, whatever they may be who formerly honoured me with their esteem."

In somewhat more than three months after the writing of this letter, the French fleet was off the coast of Ireland, with a large body of troops, under the command of General Hoche. It pleased Providence, in its mercy to these kingdoms, to disperse that armament, and render it totally inef-

fectual. To that providential interposition do we owe our safety. Nothing however could exceed the gallantry, loyalty, and good conduct of the South of Ireland on this occasion, and indeed every part from whence the troops issued to meet the enemy, or through which they passed. Lord Charlemont by no means relished the system, which ministers had begun to display in Ireland; but he considered the existence of the country at stake, and neither he nor his friends, in the Lower House, opposed them at this time. The dispersion of the French fleet gave to him, as it may be supposed, new spirits. He flattered himself that this providential escape might awaken ministry to a sense of the perilous situation in which this country stood, it being now ascertained, that a French fleet might put to sea, notwithstanding our general vigilance and great naval superiority. The good conduct of the South would, he hoped, operate as a controul on the sedition of such in the North as had been led astray from their duty, and the intended invasion altogether tend to soften asperities, and open a door for domestic tranquillity. In this he was mistaken; but his sentiments were those of a true lover of his country. His life was, at this time, almost uniform; some of his letters paint the state of his mind so exactly, and, I am willing to think, do him in general so much honour, that it is with pleasure I insert such as may, without any breach of delicacy, be given to the public. They form, indeed, his genuine history.

Dublin, December 10th, 1796.

Is there, my dearest Doctor, a situation more truly anxious, than to fear that we are neglected by those we love and honour? Post after post passed away, and my humour grew worse and worse. Is he sick? No. Has his business occupied him more than usual? Whence then this unusual silence? Mine was assuredly the last letter; but what of that, says friendship? You should have written again and again,—and so I will, spite of my weak eyes and nerves,—spite of my perpetual, tiresome occupations, civil, military, public, and private. Such were the movements of my mind, and such my final resolution; when lo! my good genius appeared in the shape of two sonnets, removed my doubts, and crowned my wishes. How soothing to the heart is applause from a friend, even though a well-

founded modesty should assure us that partiality, not judgment, had penned the eulogy; that very partiality is perhaps more grateful to us, even than a consciousness of desert. Thank you, my dearest Haliday, and be assured, that your silence has been amply compensated. Yet still, as nervous folks are apt to seek what they do not wish to find, one little circumstance occurs, which in some degree damps my pleasure. Why are these sonnets dated 93 and 94? Has 1795 or 96, altered either you or me? Surely no. You cannot change; and though never worthy the praise your friendship bestows, I at this instant deserve it as well as I ever did, and more particularly the divine sentiments conveyed in that line; "whose frenzy not his wrath, but pity moves." Angry! no. I weep over the madness of my beloved countrymen; and if my blood could cure their frenzy, they should be welcome to it. But I have written as much as I possibly can write, and must leave you. Adieu, my friend, and though your verses have now thoroughly appeased me, do not imagine, that the silence of months shall hereafter be repaid by a sonnet; but be assured, that a frequent repetition of prose will give more satisfaction than the best of poetry.

"Dublin, February 1st, 1797.

"The French attempt, which is now, thank Heaven, at least for the present, entirely at an end, has, in my opinion, been productive of many salutary effects. It has shewn to the people, that there are dangers more to be dreaded than the effects of a bad administration. It has made the well-minded lay aside their vicious backwardness, and boldly speak out. It has confirmed the wavering, and in a great measure awed and silenced the clamour of faction; but, above all, it has clearly proved, that the numbers of the disaffected have been far over-rated; that even they who talked wildly, would never be induced to act madly, and that the mass of the people is yet to be depended on. It has roused the martial ardour of the nation, and shewn our enemies, that where they were taught to hope support, they would find the most vigorous resistance. What you

mean by the defection of Sir Laurence,* I do not know, unless refusing to obey the dictates of a private party; unless it shall be deemed defection to follow the dictates of our own unbiassed reason, rather than implicitly to assent to peevish and ill-timed motions. Indeed, my dearest Doctor, true patriotism does not always consist in perpetual and indiscriminate opposition, which may sometimes take its rise in motives not much preferable to those which influence the conduct of the servile courtier. The man who, unwarped by interest, or ambition, acts at all times in the manner which, to his unbiassed judgment, appears most likely to serve, or to save his country, ever suiting his conduct to the exigency of the times, and never giving way, either to passion, or to desire of emolument, he is the good citizen, he is the true patriot.

"So Payne has now attacked Washington, no wonder."

It can be no matter of surprise, though it is always to be lamented, that the good are so often deceived. Lord Charlemont's hopes were ill-founded. A message from the Lord Lieutenant to the House of Commons, at this time, or not long after, announced the arrest of two committees in the town of Belfast, and the seizure of their papers, which contained matter of so much importance to the public welfare, that he had directed them to be laid before the House, and recommended to them to take the same into their serious consideration. Lord Charlemont had, as appears from all his letters, conjured them to pursue a different line of conduct, but his advice was now laughed to scorn. They listened to the emissaries of the United Irishmen, and rejected the counsels of their old and tried friend. On the 10th of May, Mr. Pelham brought up the report of the secret committee. It justified, he said, those measures, which, with the approbation of the House, had been adopted by the Lord Lieutenant. That he believed many of the United Irishmen might have been induced to join that society under the pretext of reform, but, he trusted, that the publication of the report would shew them their danger, and the crimes they were falling into. It was ordered to be printed, and communicated to a committee of the Lords.

* Sir Laurence Parsons.

Dublin, June 9th, 1797.*

Deplorable indeed, is the account you give, and your experience of my sentiments will enable you readily to judge, how sensibly I feel the misfortune of a town, which, with all its errors, must ever be dear to me; neither does my having long foreseen, and fruitlessly warned your fellow citizens against what has happened, tend in any great degree to lessen my concern, since, perhaps, *they* are the most unhappy, and consequently the most to be pitied, who suffer from their own faults or follies; and far be from me that hardness of heart, which can view with indifference, or sometimes even with pleasure, the sufferings of a friend, merely because he brought them on himself. To avert these evils, you well know what pains I have taken. My advice has, indeed, been lavished on both parties, with equally ill success; but how could I expect that it would influence those with whom I was wholly unconnected, when it had produced little or no effect upon my friends? Would to Heaven it had been otherwise; but spurred on by destiny, we seem on all hands to run a rapid course towards a frightful precipice. But it is criminal to despair of our country. I will then endeavour yet to hope. My conscience at least is clear, and with a clear conscience, utter despondency can scarcely exist. Every thing in my power has been done. I have recommended conciliation, I have recommended concession, and, though my advice, however strongly urged, has proved ineffectual, still I have disburthened my mind; neither is it utterly impossible that, in the fluctuation of these unsteady times, my opinion may yet prevail.

The last effort, in favour of a Parliamentary reform, was made in the House of Commons, by Mr. Ponsonby.† The opposition insisted, that if even then adopted, it might be the means of drawing off and reconciling numbers. The ministers on the contrary alleged, that the report precluded all expectations of that sort, which, in the North, might possibly be true, and some gentlemen added, that the people should be *subdued*, before they were relieved. Idle and inconsiderate words! The

* To Dr. Haliday.

† The late Lord Ponsonby.

mass of the people could not be called traitors; and though Parliamentary reform could not tranquillize, as far as might be wished, such language was calculated to throw all conciliation to an immeasurable distance. That some reform, or some effort towards conciliation, was not made, is surely to be deplored. But a stranger to the history of these countries might, from the language now held in both Houses, be led to imagine, that a Parliamentary reform was never before heard of, except from traitors; when, in truth, a defect in the representation had already engaged the attention of the most enlightened men in the country. From his academic chair at Oxford, Blackstone had pointed it out to the rising youth of the country; it had been glanced at by the resistless eloquence of Lord Chatham; and, after a long interval, given the richest colouring to the dawn of his son's political life. Mr. Fox had uniformly supported it; Sir George Savile, and some of the best and wisest men in Great Britain and Ireland. If a measure, good in itself, is to be for ever exiled from Parliament, and frowned out of society, because it may be perverted by mischievous and designing men, what is to become of us? The conduct of some potentates, and legislatures, was, at this time, not a little singular. The coalesced powers went forth, as they said, to combat for order, good government, and to extirpate usurpation. As a proof of their sincerity, some of them massacred the Poles, and divided Poland among themselves, utterly extinguishing it as a kingdom. The legislature of Ireland went forth very properly, in defence of the constitution, against the United Irishmen, and almost constantly talked, and too often acted, as if there was no constitution whatever.

Parliament was dissolved in July, 1797; the venerable Earl had the pleasure of beholding his eldest son, Lord Caulfield, elected for the county of Armagh, with entire approbation and applause. Such marks of the esteem, and affection of the people, for himself and his family, were always dear to him. The choice which he had made of friends in the House of Commons, was confirmed by the general sentiment, and was every way satisfactory to him. To this, and some violent disturbance at Belfast, he alludes in the following letter:

" Dublin, November 4th, 1797.

"I heard of the late military outrage at Belfast, and need not to you who know me so well, expatiate upon my feelings on that subject. But, alas all the world is mad, and unfortunately, strait waistcoats are not yet in fashion. With you, I lament the carnage with which our late victory was attended; yet still I must rejoice in the event, which will be productive of consequences, even thus not too dearly purchased. Indeed, among the sad effects of the present abominable transactions, none is more striking, than that our feelings have been blunted by the perpetual repetition of horrors, and the man, who would formerly have wept over the loss of an individual, can now hear unmoved the death of thousands. In the late action, the slaughter was indeed terrible, yet what was it when compared to French butchery? a native of La Vendée has assured me, that, in that district alone, not fewer than five hundred thousand perished. He may have most probably have exaggerated, but what ought to be our feelings, if we only believe one half of his narrative. What am I to expect from your next epistle? I cannot conceive, neither can I guess, whom you mean by *my* hero, in contradiction to Charles Fox; who, though I may have sometimes thought him injudicious, has ever been a hero of mine. Notwithstanding your Parliamentary apathy, of which I cannot perfectly approve, you will, I doubt not, hear with some satisfaction, that two excellent men, Frank Dobbs,* and Plunkett,† are likely to take their seats in the approaching Parliament. Of the former, to you who know him so well, I need say nothing, and the character of the latter is incomparable, both for abilities and for principle."

On the 15th January, 1798, The Lord Lieutenant met the New Parliament. Having acquainted both Houses of the failure of his Majesty's

* The late Francis Dobbs, Esq. an upright excellent man. He took an active and laudable part in the affairs of this kingdom in 1782.

† The Right Honourable William Conyngham Plunkett. He has since particularly distinguished himself in the House of Commons of the United Parliament, during the very short time that he sat there. He was then Attorney General of Ireland, but resigned that situation soon after, in 1807.

endeavours to restore peace, and justly alluded to Lord Duncan's naval victory, he added, that subordination and industry had, by the vigorous measures adopted, returned in the North. Lord Clare, (the Chancellor) supported the ministerial system in the Upper House, and observed, that the state of the North at that time, was a proof of the wisdom of the measures which had been adopted; they were strong, and had been *extorted* from the Lord Lieutenant, but they were successful. So imperfectly acquainted was Government with the real situation of that province! The House of Commons was, compared to former days, almost silent. A conciliatory and just amendment to the address, was proposed by Mr. Smith,* and, like other motions of similar benevolence, was of course lost. Mr. Grattan was not a member of the New Parliament. A secession which Lord Charlemont most deeply deplored. The court enjoyed his absence; the country did not. There were many gentlemen of eminent talents, and unequivocal principles, returned to the New House of Commons. But the people looked for the old assertor of their liberties, and, like the image of Brutus, during the funeral procession of Junia, he was brought back to their minds, with an effulgence the more unrivalled as he was then withheld from their view.

Lord Charlemont had, soon after the meeting of Parliament, the satisfaction of beholding, what indeed was too often denied to him, the House of Lords the scene of important and dignified debate. It had been asserted, by some of the ministers in Ireland, and their partizans, that the Earl of Moira had always brought forth his charges against them, in the British House of Peers, and not in the Irish, of which his Lordship was equally a member, and where his charges could be more easily answered, possibly, entirely refuted. There was no necessity for them to indulge in such a strain, as the Noble Earl was determined to persevere, and try whether every hope of conciliation was fled from the hereditary guardians of Ireland, as it seemed to have vanished every where else. Accordingly, he attended in his place in the Irish House of Peers, on the 19th February, 1798. Never

* William Smith, Esq. now one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland.

was a more thronged and anxious assembly seen. Above and below the bar every place was full. The House of Commons adjourned early on that day, to give an opportunity to their members to attend the debate, and all of them, who were in town, appeared there. Lord Moira's speech was manly, eloquent, dignified, and made a deep impression. The Chancellor replied at great length, and, it is generally agreed on, with much ability. Lord Glentworth* supported him. The Bishop of Downe,† who had never before spoken in the House, and would not have spoken then, had he not been called forth by the unprovoked asperity of the Chancellor, was heard with the utmost delight and satisfaction, not only because his reply was unexpected, but truly excellent. It refuted the acrimonious charges of Lord Clare, expressed the most liberal principles of legislation, and was delivered with a grace, and modesty, that interested every auditor. Lord Charlemont, as well as the Earl of Granard, and Lord Dunsany, who spoke ably, supported Lord Moira's motion, which was to address the Lord Lieutenant to pursue such conciliating measures, as might allay the apprehensions, and extinguish the discontents, so unhappily prevalent in Ireland." At a very late hour the House divided. The motion was negatived. Lord Moira, as well as several other peers, the Duke of Leinster, and many of the highest rank, joined Lord Charlemont in the protest. To this important debate his Lordship alludes in the following letter:

"Dublin, March 20th, 1798.‡

"Health with me knows little melioration, and, in this city, public matters appear daily to grow worse and worse. They, who censure Lord Moira's speech, are, in my opinion, possessed of neither taste nor judgment. Nothing could be better than his matter, unless his manner, which even surpassed the sanguine hopes of friendship; animated, though cool, and dignified without pomp. His first statement was excellent, but his reply was incomparable. The goodness of his heart, incapable of allowing him to do any thing, which might be attended by possible mischief, prompted his moderation, and the soundness of his under-

* Now Earl of Limerick.

† Dr. William Dickson, late Bishop of, already mentioned in this work.

‡ To Dr. Haliday.

standing, led him to believe, that he was far more likely to carry his point, by moderated firmness, than by any excess of violence. But that which most of all delighted, and surprized me, was his wonderful coolness, and self-possession, which were such as to persuade every one who beheld him, that he would have been just as cool, if commanding a line of troops, exposed to the hottest fire of the enemy. As to our dear Bishop,* you have exactly said what I thought of him. His answer to a most unjustifiable attack, was precisely what it ought to have been, and was, I am confident, unexpected by his opponent, as it certainly was by his friends, and particularly by me, who, the morning before, had been urging him to speak, and had received for answer, that it was utterly impossible. But *facit indignatio versum.* You will have seen in the papers, that Frank† has broke the ice, an effort which gives me the more pleasure, as I feared that the sheepishness of the father might have been entailed upon the son. For his first essay he was not deficient in matter, nor in manner; and he shewed a degree of bashfulness, which indicates that sensibility, without which no man ever yet succeeded as a speaker. I am happy to inform you, that my two friends have done excellently. Dobbs has fully equalled my expectation, and will daily improve. Plunkett has exceeded them, and is already one of the best, and most useful debaters. All our loves to Mrs. Haliday, and congratulate her, in my name, on the excellent conduct of her countryman,‡ who has hitherto most certainly acted in his difficult situation, with the greatest propriety, and has the happiness of being accordingly disliked and abused. Adieu, my dearest Haliday."

The debate in which Lord Caulfield spoke for the first time was, on a motion of Sir L. Parsons, (March 5th) for an enquiry into the state of the nation, and to suggest such measures as were likely to conciliate the people. Lord Caulfield was listened to with peculiar attention on all sides. He spoke with sound sense. Lord Charlemont happened to be present, and could not conceal his emotions. The good-nature, and quick sensibility, so truly characteristic of the Irish, prevailed for the moment, and all unseemly

* Of Downe.

† Francis, Lord Caulfield, now Earl of Charlemont.

‡ The late gallant, and truly-lamented, Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

violence subsided. But at such a time any softer emotions could be of no long duration, and party rage, and civil contest, soon resumed their arbitrary sway. Lord Castlereagh spoke at great length, and said, " that the United Irishmen were in open rebellion, and, therefore, only to be met by force. Mr. Plunkett replied, that he detested the United Irishmen, who had brought the country into that situation; but there were in Ireland, hundreds and thousands, who, though not in favour with the administration, as not being friends to their measures, were utterly hostile to the United Irishmen, who dreaded nothing so much as concession." This was exactly true, but the House would not attend to the motion; 156 voted against it, and 19 with Sir Laurence Parsons.

" Dublin, May 3d, 1798.

" Thanks to the kind Mrs. Haliday, I have now before me two of your letters, from both of which I have received the highest satisfaction, as they are possessed of that true *signum salutis*, unforced, and unaffected pleasantry. You growl, indeed, and no wonder, for who in the present times can do otherwise? But still your native good humour enlivens your discontent, and you contrive even to grumble comically. A temper naturally cheerful is, indeed, one of the greatest blessings bestowed on man; for while it in no degree impairs the sensibility of its possessor, it prompts his imagination rather to brighten, than to obscure the prospect, and enables him to collect from misfortune all its consolatory circumstances, as bees are said to extract honey even from poisonous herbs. Indeed, my dear Doctor, I have for some months been extremely ill, and, instead of getting better, as the season advances, I seem daily to grow worse; but so it must be, as I daily grow older. I *had* spirits, but they are evaporated; I *had* good humour, and in some degree I have it still. But how should it subsist under the pressure of public and private calamity? Yet still, as there is no night so dark as to be totally void of light, both my private, and public prospects, are enlivened by some cheering rays. My son's success in his first parliamentary attempt, on which you so kindly dwell, most certainly affords me real pleasure; and I have the still higher satisfaction of perceiving, that, whatever his abilities may be, his principles are precisely as I would wish them, and such as will, at all times, prompt him to the disinterested service of his country. Ought I then to complain of my private lot? Surely no. And as to

our public affairs, dark as they are, the gloom is in some degree brightened by lights from the north, where tranquillity seems to be re-established, and where good sense, and returning industry, appear to have at length prevailed over madness and tumult. With these consolatory circumstances I will close my letter, and with another, the thought and repetition of which must always give me pleasure, that I am, my dearest Haliday, your most faithful, and truly affectionate, "CHARLEMONT.

"My love to our excellent Bishop,* and to our dear Countess; tell Arthur Johnston,† that it is his duty to get well, as his country cannot afford to lose so excellent a man in this her sad decline. He never yet failed in duty towards her, and will not, I trust, in the present instance."

The *lights* from the north, which the good Earl mentions, were, as is now too well ascertained, completely fallacious, and not to be depended on. Alas! in twenty days after the rebellion burst forth in all its horrors. Of that sanguinary rebellion, there can be but one sentiment among all persons of unprejudiced understanding, and attachment to the Constitution. It could not be justified. That there was great folly in the public councils; a sad, perverse, and melancholy hostility to all conciliation; and that such precipitant temerity, and fury of disposition, accelerated the footsteps of insurrection, I can well suppose. That some persons, far more violent than judicious, were not removed from the public councils, or, at least, that some species of Parliamentary reform was not tried, I think, every moderate person must lament. Some leaders of the United Irishmen solemnly asserted, that had not all reform been denied, they would not have closed with France. Without contradicting this, it is evident, however, that the transition from reform to revolution could not have been, to several of them at least, a step of extreme hesitation. To such persons, separation from England was the original object. It is clear, from the general tenor of their writings, so far back as 1792, that it was. But separation could not be obtained without French assistance, and that assistance would not be given to

* Of Downe.

† Arthur Johnston, Esq. of Redemon, in the county of Downe. A gentleman of considerable fortune, and great respectability.

gain a reform, which was nothing to the French, but most readily given to obtain a separation from England, which was every thing to them.* The views, therefore, of the Parisian directory were speedily met, and those who originally, I make no doubt, looked to nothing else than a reform, and that indistinctly, soon adopted the bolder, and more expanded schemes of their coadjutors. This, I think, was their progress; but I can only write, of course, argumentatively. An enthusiasm in some, originating from public principle; mere disappointment in others; the hopes of aggrandizement, of emerging from obscurity to distinction, to ill-got opulence, operating on too many, the delusive example of the French revolution, the source of so much misery, the profligacy of so large a portion of the House of Commons, the undistinguishing fury sometimes of Parliament itself, co-operating with often out-soaring the wildest wing of a domineering court; such were, in my opinion, the leading causes of that rebellion. Redress of public grievances, the former boundary of the desires of many who engaged in it, had been long passed over, and the visionary fabric of an Irish republic, appeared to their heated imagination. But the columns of that fabric were not the work of any Catholic deception, nor had religious zeal, in my opinion, any share whatever in the original formation of the rebellion, though it afterwards, in some parts of Ireland, (and, thank God, but very few parts,) tinged that rebellion, with colours, above all others, gloomy and terrific, and which, in every age, seem to have belonged to fanaticism and ignorance alone. A detail of the miseries which, wherever that rebellion raged, desolated this kingdom, will not, I am sure, be expected here. It was extinguished; but if its extinction must always be the subject of national exultation and gratitude, the horrors which accompanied it, must also preserve their place in our recollection, and teach us to point out to those, who come after us, those sad errors in some, and that mass of rebellious guilt in others, which led to such an accumulation of evils. One mode of frustrating the efforts of conspiracy, and rebellion, which was resorted to in this kingdom, every person, I think, since the tempest of civil fury has now passed by, must deprecate, according to an Italian phrase, even "on the knees of their minds."†

* See the evidence laid before the Irish Parliament by the committee, to whom the papers of the United Irishmen were referred.

† "Con le ginocchie della mente inchine."—PETRARCA.

It was that of extorting confession by whippings, by half hangings, by torture; a preventive system, as it was called, but which, in fact, had it brought forth thousands of arms more than it did, could not compensate for the too ample means which it furnished of nutriment to our worst passions, and the outrage it offered to the Constitution. "It seems astonishing," says Sir William Blackstone, "that the usage of administering the torture, should be said to arise from a tenderness to the lives of men;" and yet this supposed tenderness for the lives and safeties of others, was the plea urged in its defence in Ireland. Such practices are the more to be guarded against, because it is natural to the human mind, to fly to any expedient, no matter how repugnant to our calmer feelings, that has the semblance of rescuing us from immediate evil; and the suggestions of cowardice or error, are afterwards sullenly maintained, as the dictations of no vulgar fortitude, and unbiassed wisdom. It is melancholy, it is humiliating, to adduce any authority for the promotion of humanity. But an exalted, generous prudence, in the hour of overwhelming civil contention, no one need blush to learn. Let those then, who, at the first approaches of confusion, or any new crime that threatens the state, wish to extinguish the ordinary tribunals of justice, or set up some arbitrary one of co-extensive authority, for ever remember the words of Lord Somers, speaking of the Star Chamber.

"It was set up in the 3d of Henry VIIth. in very soft words. To punish great riots, to restrain offenders too big for ordinary justice, or, in the modern phrase, to preserve the public peace; but, in a *little time, it made this nation tremble*. England would never agree with those courts, that are mixed of state and justice; policy soon gets the better of justice."*

I am willing to indulge the hope, that all this will not be considered as too extensive a digression. Whoever looks back with a just sense of human infirmities, and human wrongs, to the lamentable period to which these Memoirs have now approached, will, I flatter myself, excuse me.

The rebellion had been now, if not put down, almost exhausted; when the British ministry seemed to be of opinion, that at such a juncture, the Lord Lieutenant should be a military man, and accordingly,

* Minutes of Lord Somers's speech in the House of Lords, on the bill for abolishing the Privy Council of Scotland.—Hardwicke State Papers.

the Marquis Cornwallis was appointed. Lord Camden had, as he conceived, done his duty to the utmost of his power; and, as the Lord Chancellor stated, all the strong, or, indeed, violent measures, were extorted from him. He must, in my opinion, have gladly retired from such a scene of misery and terror. It is surely to be lamented, and the more so as it can scarcely be avoided, that, in times so fraught with dangers, and with horrors, as those which now prevailed in Ireland, no inconsiderable portion of the authority of the state should be consigned to low, illiberal, vindictive men, at a distance perhaps from the seat of government, who, intoxicated with their new power, and eager to shew their zeal, in hopes of some preferment, grossly abuse that authority. Yet, in some respects, are such men so necessary, that their abuses are connived at, often defended, by those in elevated stations. This position was never more exemplified than in Ireland at the present moment. Violent as some leaders were, their delegates, and subalterns, were far more so, as ignorance, and vulgar malice, feel no controul from the narrow circle in which *they* move, or sensibility even casually awakened. Insolence may certainly be found every where; but the habits of liberal intercourse are very different from those I have described, and society itself must be rendered one entire blot, before that persons, accustomed to such intercourse, will attempt, and still less avow, any interruption, or mockery of those laudable sympathies, which a cultured mind will be ashamed not to acknowledge, however feeble or evanescent their impressions. It may be reasonably presumed, much as some persons in high authority are to be found fault with at present, that they were rendered even more obnoxious to the public, than they, perhaps, deserved to be from the causes now assigned. I shall not attempt to speak of those, of whom I know but little. One noble person, whose unpopularity was, however, entirely of his own creation, and in which no subordinate agent could have any share, I must beg leave briefly to mention. As a Statesman, Lord Clare had many faults; but the vices which so often degraded that character, did not belong to him. He was above all circumvention, all corruption whatever. Open and undisguised, his ambition, and his temper, held no interrupted, but a uniform, mingled sway over him. Acrimonious, impatient, overbearing, so far from wishing to conciliate,

(I speak of his public deportment,) he made use of language so revolting, so perversely unrestricted, that he often disobliged, nay made enemies even of those who acted in concert with him. That his Parliamentary opponents therefore were never spared by him, cannot be a matter of surprize. As to the lower classes; were we to judge of him, merely by his speeches, we might be led to conclude, that if the peasantry of Ireland could have been all collected on one funeral pile, he would have appeared as the first man, and with no averted eyes, to hold the torch to it himself. But in this respect how unjust was he to his own disposition; for, though on such topics he always spoke daggers, that disposition would have ever forbad him to make use of any. In his abhorrence of popular excesses, he talked as if he had forgotten all popular privileges; but his zeal, his predilections, and his temper, ran forward with such strange alacrity, that all memory of the higher duties, nay, sometimes the decorums of a Statesman, was, for the instant, out-stripped in its course, by qualities so unbridled and so untoward. Early in life, I knew him well, and though our intercourse was discontinued, (I presume from politics, for he could little brook any opposition on that head,) ancient amity was never lost sight of. On a subject, therefore, where there must necessarily be many opinions adverse to mine, I would not speak, but from entire personal knowledge; and to that knowledge I can add, from authority, not feeble, as in the eyes of many mine perhaps may be, that Lord Clare, in many instances, displayed a feeling and compassionate heart. To return. The Marquis Cornwallis arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June. In nine days after his arrival, a proclamation was issued, inviting all who were then assembled against his Majesty's peace, to surrender themselves. Fourteen days were allowed (from the date of the proclamation) for this purpose, and such persons as surrendered, were called on to enter their names, acknowledge their guilt, abjure their engagements, and take the oath of allegiance. On complying with such terms, the generals commanding in the different districts, were authorized to grant them protection, as long as they demeaned themselves as became good subjects. This proffered amnesty would alone have cheered Lord Charlemont's spirits; but as, nearly at the same time, a manifesto, or declaration of loyalty and adherence to the Constitution, expressed in the most solemn manner, was published at Belfast, his satisfaction was complete.

" Dublin, June 29th, 1798.*

"Though still scarcely able to write, an exertion must be made, as it is impossible for me to repress my desire of thanking you for the sincere pleasure I have felt at seeing your name subscribed to the incomparable declaration of the inhabitants of Belfast. That your sentiments were exactly those which appear in that excellent production I had no doubt, but am happy that you have thus promulgated them to a public, which, from want of personal knowledge, might have mistaken you: thus far I thank you on my *private* account; but where should I find words to testify my acknowledgements for the *public* service you have done, by affixing your truly respectable, and popular name to a declaration of such genuine loyalty? On this theme I would wish to dwell; but, alas! my head, my eyes, and even my hand, refuse their assistance.

" P. S. I take the composition to be your's."

Lord Cornwallis's proclamation was viewed in a very different light by many, from that in which it was regarded by Lord Charlemont; and from this time may be dated that rooted dislike, and animosity, which pervaded the minds of some furious partizans against Lord Cornwallis. But the noble Marquis might have been well consoled. He must have had not only the approbation of his own mind, but that of every unprejudiced man, who, detesting the rebellion, and anxious for the preservation of the connexion with our sister kingdom, did not chuse to put that connexion entirely to the hazard, by the continuation of a system, which might have rendered disaffection desperate, planted the seeds of irreconcilable hatred, between Irishman and Irishman, and rendered the very name of England disgusting to the present and succeeding generations. To the controul of that system, and the authority of some men in inferior civil departments, " most ignorant of what they most assumed," and, therefore, proportionably cruel; was added a seasonable check and rebuke of such of the military, (comparatively not many,) as forgetting the courtesy, which, to the lustre of the soldier's character, imparts so much amenity, counteracted the purposes for

* To Dr. Haliday.

which they combated, and would have changed ardent loyalty into cold, unmoved allegiance, had not that loyalty known itself too well, and risen superior to their incivility and indiscretion.* To the honour of the leading military characters here let it be said, that they always shewed lenity; and to the disgrace of another class in society, who very properly styled themselves not military, and very improperly, men of peace, let it also be said, that such lenity was by them always condemned.

General Humbert, with the very insignificant force under his command, arrived at Killala on the 22d of this month. A most accurate account of that arrival, and the transactions of the French in Killala, and its vicinity, have been given to the world by the respectable and learned bishop of that diocese. The route of the French, and the short battle which took place, previous to their surrender, every one is acquainted with. But, not to make use of any untimely levity of phrase, a common person must suppose that, under such circumstances as the French were then placed, battle was given by them merely *pour orner la scene*, and to decorate their surrender as well as they could. For, with a force so superior as that which was brought against them, how was it in their power seriously to contend? *Sed non est his locus.*

The Parliament of Ireland, which, it is not to be forgotten, never discontinued their sittings, even when the rebellion was most furious, was at last prorogued on the 6th of October, by the Marquis Cornwallis. He observed in his speech from the Throne, that the circumstances which had taken place since the commencement of the session, would render it for ever memorable. That by the unremitting vigilance of his predecessor, treason had been detected, and, through the sagacious diligence of Parliament, developed in all its parts. A wicked rebellion had, in a great measure, been subdued. He added, that the plan which had been adopted, for the remuneration of the losses of the suffering loyalists, was highly honourable to the

* "Ils vivent, ma Foi," says Madame de Sevignè, giving an account to her daughter of some of the troops which were sent to extinguish the commotions in Britanny; "Comme dans un pays de Conquête, non obstant nôtre bon marriage avec Charles VIII. et Louis XII." Rennes, at the time she wrote, bore a great resemblance, in some points, to Belfast at the present period; and there were not then wanting some headstrong politicians, who, for the folly of particular persons, would have laid waste the capital of Britanny, as in our days, Belfast was very nearly destroyed from similar suggestions of similar political zealots.

feelings of Parliament, and, in every loyal breast, would excite emotions of love and gratitude to his country. Lord Cornwallis was, I make no doubt, sincere in all this praise of the Irish Parliament. But who could have thought that, in less than four months afterwards, this assembly, which had so well maintained the connexion between the two countries, would be represented by Legislators and Statesmen, as perfectly incompetent to any such purpose, and all this eulogy, to write quaintly, so soon terminate in its elegy?

The following letter from Lord Charlemont to his friend, gives a melancholy picture of the country, and himself. It also shows, as I have stated, the intentions of ministers at this time, from the indirect sounding of the public mind, which now took place.

"Dublin, October 15th, 1798.

"Why, yes, my dear Doctor, I am, indeed, sadly indisposed; old age, which insensibly steals upon the happy and healthy, seems to have seized me by sudden invasion. But no wonder. Such must always be the case, when the corrosion of care co-operates with that gradual decay, which time must ever produce. And surely you, who are intimately acquainted with my heart, and have, with me, witnessed and deplored the sad series of events, which have for a long time crowded on each other in rapid succession, cannot be ignorant of the cause of that perpetual anxiety, which, like the vulture of Prometheus, has preyed upon my vitals. Even now, when rebellion is frighted into its den, robbery and assassination, even in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, still keep the field, and reign in its stead. The murder of Hume,* the friend and favourite of his country, is a recent example of atrocity, which perhaps exceeds all that went before it. But, as if real events were not sufficient to disturb my mind, rumours also come into their aid. The town is now filled with reports, that an Union will speedily be attempted. How far this may be true, I cannot presume to say, but the unhappy always fear the worst. Has this report reached you? If it has, tell me how it is received. Thank fate, I am enabled to conclude this letter more comfortably than when I began it, being this minute informed

* William Hume, Esq. M. P. for the county of Wicklow.

that an express is arrived from the post-master of Rutland,* with an account that in an action off the coast of Donegal, between our squadron, and that part of the Brest fleet which was meant for Ireland, two French ships have been taken, and three so crippled, that they must necessarily fall into the hands of their pursuers. I am, however, perhaps, communicating intelligence with which, from your vicinity, you are already acquainted. But really the exploits of our navy are most illustrious, and that of Nelson, for your congratulations on which I sincerely thank you, a prodigy in our naval history. The French squadron is said to have consisted of one line-of-battle ship, and seven frigates, and its defeat will, I trust, put an end to all fear of invasion. Your account of the Cow-Pock was received at the Academy with surprise."

The rumours of the Union, which the good Earl alludes to, were, at first, not at all attended to. Nay, for some time after this, so terrific was the very name of Union, and so likely, in the opinion of most persons, to open afresh every source of discontent, that many who were connected with ministers, but far removed from their secrets, declared, in every company, that such rumours were the joint offspring of the old opposition and the United Irishmen. Some of the public prints, which were immediately under the influence of Government, in both kingdoms, re-echoed all such sentiments. But how soon did they change? To suggest the idea of a Union was highly criminal in October; to oppose it in the subsequent April was almost High Treason!! Such is the metamorphosis, and such the agreeable vicissitudes of language, to which those gentlemen, who write only as the subalterns of ministers direct, are obliged to adapt themselves to.

The author of these Memoirs was about this time at a considerable distance from Dublin. Anxious to be informed on the subject of Union, he took leave, as he had sometimes done, to write to his Lordship. With his usual cordiality, but, at the same time, a mind deeply agitated, Lord Charlemont was so good as to write the following letter, which was the precursor of several more on the same subject. To unlock all that correspondence would be as unnecessary as improper. One letter

* A fishing town, built under the patronage of the late Right Honourable William Burton Conyngham, in the county of Donegal..

alone may suffice to shew what Lord Charlemont's feelings were, at this time, as to the Union.

"Dublin, November 8th, 1798.

"My Dear Hardy,

"Though scarcely able to write from malady, both of body and mind, I must, and will, make an effort to thank you for your most acceptable letter, and to assure you, that on the subject you mention, we are precisely of the same opinion, as I flatter myself we ever shall be, upon every important subject. The report to which you allude, and which is, I fear, but too well grounded, has put a finishing stroke to that misery of mind, with which every occurrence has, for some time past, contributed to afflict me. As soon as the rumour became prevalent, I thought it my duty to wait on the Lord Lieutenant. I prefaced my discourse by assuring him, that I expected no answer to what I meant to say, conscious as I was that, considering his situation, it would be impertinent even to desire it; but that, as a proposition of the highest importance was openly, and generally spoken of, and as there was a possibility, that the report might be founded on truth, I had deemed it an incumbent duty, shortly to lay before him my sentiments, not only for my own sake, but for his also, as I could not doubt but that, in a matter of this nature, he would wish to know the opinion of every individual. That I deprecated the measure for many, many reasons, but would now trouble him with one only; that it would, more than any other, contribute to the separation of two countries, the perpetual connexion of which, was one of the warmest wishes of my heart. His Excellency received my discourse with the utmost politeness; expressed his obligation, and his firm assurance, that every opinion of mine was founded on the best motives; but, in compliance with my desire, declined for the present, saying any more on the subject. From this you may readily perceive that this business is most certainly in agitation. Lord Clare, as I am told, makes no secret of its being a principal cause of his voyage to England, and two things only can, I fear, prevent its being brought forward; remonstrances from the English trading towns, and the firm opposition of individuals here. The former is, I am assured, probable, but may only tend to render the treaty worse for this country; and as to the latter, both you and I are too well acquainted with our fellow

legislators, to put much trust in them. The state also of the people is, from many causes, highly unfavourable. They have, if I may use the expression, been stimulated into torpor, and the same reason which, in many counties, prevented the electors from taking the trouble of voting, would now, I doubt, even on this occasion, produce the most profound apathy. They, who are still rebels in their hearts, would like the measure as a mean of separation, and, in addition to what you have urged, it ought to be considered, that the wholesome interference of resident landlords, which has alone preserved the country from utter ruin, would be exchanged for the interposition of merciless agents.

"But I can write no more. My eyes, which are beyond expression weak, totally fail me, and the subject makes me sick. I have much more to say, but will postpone it till we meet, which will, I trust, be soon. Lady Charlemont desires her compliments to you, and joins with me in the most sincere respects to Lord and Lady Granard.* Adieu. Believe me, with the utmost sincerity,

"Your most faithful, and truly affectionate,

"CHARLEMONT.

"Petitions against undue elections would be utterly impracticable."

The intentions of ministers being very soon after unequivocally declared, as to this great measure, the kingdom, as might have been expected, was extremely agitated. Resolutions followed resolutions, pamphlet succeeded to pamphlet, chiefly written by the gentlemen of the bar, who, in various productions on the subjects, displayed great talents. Their literary labours had great effect on the public mind.

Parliament met on the 22d of January, 1799. The question of Union, which had been mentioned in general, not specific terms in the speech from the Throne, was well debated in the House of Lords. That truly independent nobleman, Lord Powerscourt, moved an amendment to that part of the address, which, as usual, was the echo of the speech, stating, "That the Union, as their Lordships' conceived, was not within the limits of their power,

* The Author was then at Castle-Forbes, the seat of the Earl of Granard.

and that, if it were, it would be highly impolitic to adopt such a measure, as it would, in their opinion, tend more than any other cause, ultimately to a separation from Great Britain." This amendment was well conceived, and I state it the more particularly, as the topic of eventual separation was urged by as honourable and good men as ever sat in Parliament; men, who did not breathe a thought that was hostile to the connexion of the two countries. That their augury may totally fail, must be equally their wish, with every rational, well-disposed person in both kingdoms. But, as such were their apprehensions when the Union was debated, they would have forgot their duty to their country not to have declared them; and, as the biographer of Lord Charlemont, who was actuated by similar apprehensions, it is my duty to record them. Forty-six Lords were for entertaining the question of Union, nineteen against it.* In the House of Commons the contest was very different. The first debate continued from five in the afternoon till ten o'clock the next morning, when the Court carried the question by a majority of one. The debate was resumed on the report of the address; the sitting was of equal length with that of the preceding evening. On the division, the Court was in a minority. The numbers were, 106 for the Union, 111 against it. This victory closed all further proceedings on the subject during the remainder of this session. The debate is in every one's hands. Those who come after us will decide on it with more impartiality than those who took a share in it.

Lord Charlemont felt great joy on this occasion; but though delighted, and almost intoxicated, as he said himself, with good spirits, at this unexpected triumph of the House of Commons, he by no means thought with many of the people, that such a victory was entirely decisive. He exerted

* To enter into the history of the Union, is, of course, totally foreign to the object of these Memoirs. But among its opponents, the late Earl Ludlow should never be forgotten. From London, and the honourable station which he had long held, that of Knight of the Shire for the county of Huntingdon, he was at this time retired to solitude, and Ardsalla, his ancient family residence in Ireland. But his change of fortune operated no change in his mind. He pursued the same honourable course which he had always maintained in public life, and resisted every temptation which was held out to him to support the Union, and aggrandize himself. I feel real pleasure in thus mentioning him. He was a man of the most engaging manners, and fascinating, gentleman-like deportment, that, I think, I ever met in the course of my life.

himself as far as he could, to reap the fruits of it, but his health, which for several years, as appears from his letters, was very indifferent, began now most rapidly to decline. In the course of April, he writes thus to his old acquaintance.

Dublin, April 19th, 1799.

Greatly have I longed to hear from you, not only because a failure of your letters is to me a privation, if not of a necessary of life, at least of one of those few luxuries which I am permitted to taste. Believe me, no man can feel more sensibly than I do, the validity of your excuses, being myself in a similar situation of almost absolute inability. But you will better conceive the extent of my depression, by its effects, than by any account I can give of it. What must it have been, when I was not able to attend the House, and partake of that oration, which, if Ireland can be saved, will save it. What you have seen is excellent, but you will see a great deal more, for, to-morrow I trust, a full and correct copy will be printed, and though the speech* lasted four hours, a single minute of it cannot be spared. Besides the excellence of the performance, nothing was ever better timed. Our great and laudable activity had given place to inaction, and men were allowed to sleep upon the question, a dangerous situation; since, when gentlemen are allowed to sleep, they are too apt to have *golden* dreams. Respecting Parliament you must not be unreasonable; give them due praise for their merits, whatever demerits they may have.

This letter closed the correspondence between the amiable Earl and his ingenious, agreeable, and respectable friend. The speech which he alludes to, deserves, indeed, every eulogium. The last sentence in Lord Charlemont's letter deserves particular attention. It was precisely that unreasonableness, which his Lordship mentions, that disposition to be unsatisfied, which at all times, even in its best days, Parliament had to contend with in various parts of Ireland. If it acted with

* This was a speech of the Right Honourable John Foster, in a committee of the whole House. He took that opportunity of delivering his sentiments on the question of Union, which came incidentally before the committee. At that time he was speaker. The speech was soon after published.

patriotism, and that it often did no one can be so absurd as to deny, there was certainly public gratitude and applause; but with that gratitude too often came forth a querulous and wayward spirit, as full of fantasies as of ignorance, which gradually rendered every thing that was done unpromising, or of dubious import in the eyes of superficial observers, who every where constitute a majority. It was not sedition that Parliament had, in this instance, to encounter. It was not that versatility, and change of opinion, which all statesmen in all ages have justly complained of. No; Change of opinion could not take place, where there never was approbation, and where it was determined there never should. But there was not one honest guardian of the public weal in Ireland, who did not feel the effects of this cold and chilling humour, which was so often most diffused where the merit of Parliament was most exalted, and did more for the venal courtier and determined rebel, than they could have ever done for themselves. It was, in truth, not unlike the mist, as described by Homer, spreading over the tops of the mountains; to the shepherd not friendly, but to the thief, far better than night itself.

Lord Charlemont was now the almost continued victim of indisposition, daily sinking under his disorder, but still anxiously employed for the welfare of that country which he so truly loved. His friends saw him constantly, but saw him, on every visit, with augmented, and sometimes ill-concealed sorrow. His fondness for literature still remained the same. The two following letters to Mr. Walker, the first of which precedes the present period by a month or two, and the last, written when he was almost borne down by illness, indicate this sufficiently.

Dublin, 2d February, 1799.

Dear Sir,

Please to accept my most sincere acknowledgments for the very acceptable present with which you have favoured me,* as well as for your very kind letter, the terms of which are certainly not the less pleasing to me, for their having been dictated, like those of Baretti's dedication, rather

* On receiving a copy of Mr. Walker's Memoir on Italian Tragedy.

by partial friendship, than by strict judgment. Spite of the avocations of the times, in which both duty and affectionate zeal compel me to take a share, I shall peruse your work with fond attention, and shall more than ever regret the weakness of my eyes, which could alone prevent me from greedily devouring it, as the production of one for whom I have the highest regard, and to whom I can with truth subscribe myself,

Dear Sir, your faithful,
And truly-affectionate, humble Servant,
CHARLEMONT.

My Dear Sir,

When your last very kind letter remained so long unanswered, I trust that your justice ascribed the failure to absolute inability; such, indeed, was the case. I have been for some time past extremely ill, and even now am scarcely able to write. I am in possession of the valuable *Furioso* to which you allude, with an inscription in very old writing, on the first page, testifying that the book had been presented by the author himself, to the *Sig^ra. Veronica Gambera. So spelt.* It is printed on vellum, and contains not twenty, but forty-six cantos, being the first edition of the work, as completed and arranged by Ariosto. I do not believe that I am possessed of the dramas you mention, but, at all events, am not now able to *climb* in search of them. Quadrio I have, and shall be made happy by your consulting him in my library.

Believe me, my dear Walker,
Ever your's, most sincerely,
And most affectionately,
CHARLEMONT.

Dublin, 18th April, 1799.

But Lord Charlemont's valuable life now drew rapidly to a close. He had attended constantly in the House of Lords, during the discussion of the Union, and the temporary defeat of that measure had given him some transient spirits. But his health declined every hour. His appetite had almost ceased, his limbs swelled, and it was evident to his family, and his friends, that he could not long survive. He was visited in this his last

illness, by his numerous acquaintance, till his strength, more and more exhausted, rendered him incapable of seeing but very few. One of the persons whom, I believe, he last saw, was Baron Metge;* a gentleman whom, through life, he highly valued, and who was most cordially attached to him. At last, for some days previous to his dissolution, he sunk into a species of stupor, *Consanguineus lethi sopor*, to make use of the words of one of the respectable physicians who attended him.† He at length expired, at Charlemont House, Dublin, on the 4th of August, 1799, and in the seventieth year of his age. It was at first intended that his funeral should be public; but, after some consultation, his remains were conveyed to Armagh, and interred in the family vault, in that ancient Cathedral. Though it was agreed on that the funeral should be strictly private, it was most numerously attended. The burial service was read by the Lord Primate, Archbishop of Armagh.‡

Among his papers is the following:

MY OWN EPITAPH.

Here lies the body of
JAMES, EARL OF CHARLEMONT.
A sincere, zealous, and active friend
To his Country.
Let his posterity imitate him in that alone,
And forget
His manifold errors.

Thus have I endeavoured to present to the reader, the public, and much of the private, history of Lord Charlemont. To write the life of such a man, may be, perhaps, impartially considered, as a matter of some difficulty. Though engaged much, and acting the most honourable part in political life, he could not be strictly called a statesman; though a member

* Peter Metge, Esq. late one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland.

† Dr. Plunkett. Dr. William Harvey was the family physician.

‡ Right Reverend Dr. William Newcome.

of an ancient, deliberative assembly, he was not an orator; though possessed of the purest taste, and distinguished by many literary performances, which do honour to his memory, he cannot, without a violation of historical truth, be entitled to the name of an eminent author; and though the distinguished leader of many gallant bands, he will find no place among the conquerors, or desolators of mankind. *Nil horum.* But he was better than all this. He was, in every sense of the word, an excellent man. Of morals unstained; of mind, of manners, the most elegant. He was not only such a fine gentleman as Addison has sketched with a happy pencil,* but passed far beyond the limits of that character. He was, with some allowance for those slight errors which adhere to the best dispositions, a patriot of the justest views, who kept his loyalty and his zeal in the most perfect unison. His sole object seemed to have been the good, and melioration of his country. To a certain degree he obtained that object. He obtained a triumph over the ancient prejudices, and ancient policy which held the legislature of this country in thraldom. He indeed lived long enough to see that triumph idly, and ungratefully depreciated. But his laurels are not the less glorious. They were certainly all pacific; and if many a venal statesman, or those who were interested in confusion, secretly lamented that they were so, I am well aware, that many a reader, also, will consider the pages which record such laurels, as cold, vapid, and uninteresting.

Sed magis pugnas, et exactos tyrannos,
Densum humeris, bibit aure vulgus.

But if ever the rage for war can be satiated, the period on which we have fallen would, I think, abundantly satisfy the most wretched avidity in that respect; and the change of dethroned, or exiled monarchs, has been so frequent, that these humble Memoirs may have a chance of being read, even from the difference of scene which they present to those who cast their wearied eyes over the desolated continent of Europe. The scene, however, so presented, is not only not exempt from the general agency of human misery, for what place is so; but it partakes at one period, of those horrors which have given such a pre-eminence in calamity to the present epocha in society. That it did not abound in more, and that at an early period in Lord Charlemont's political

* See the second volume of the Guardian.

life, it was not hurried into a contest of a very different nature from that of 1798, may surely, without any strained eulogy, be attributed to him; and, it cannot be too often repeated, the moderation and good sense of those who acted with him. For such wise and healing conduct, slightly discoloured as it might be with occasional imperfections, his memory is entitled to just and lasting praise.—With regard to the Catholic question, on which, and as I think, most unhappily, Parliament is yet so divided, Lord Charlemont, in 1793, voted against the concession of the elective franchise to the Roman Catholics, and it is evident, from his letters in 1795, that he had not then relinquished his former sentiments. Some time after, (I know not the precise period) they underwent some change, but, in truth, he never altogether abandoned them. But that he truly loved *all* his countrymen,* that he always felt for the degraded situation of the Catholics, and early in life wished to change it, cannot be controverted. He rose above ancient prejudice, and the history of former days, when he cultivated such feelings, for the murder of his ancestor, Lord Charlemont, in 1641,† was often present to his mind, but it neither obscured his intellect, nor extinguished his benevolence. To punish the living for the misdeeds of those who had been a century and half in their graves, and such misdeeds basely amplified, was, he thought, a policy peculiarly humiliating to the understandings of those who practised it. Such vulgarity of sentiment he could not indulge in. But the liberty and prosperity of his country were his objects; and as he saw that they could not be obtained but partially, without a general union of Irishmen, his ruling passion, even in death, not withered, but regulated by long experience, and much reflection, led him to some dereliction of early opinions, and the experiment of a novel policy.

Lord Charlemont co-operated often, indeed generally, with those who acted as a party, and professed, that they did so; a party founded on common principles, and those principles congenial to the common interest. A party pursuing such a system, is necessary in our form of government, and is to be applauded. But let us not panegyrize or expect too much. The more ignoble

* "How is all your family?—I mean Ireland;" says Haliday in a letter to his lordship.

† Castle Caulfield, the seat of the family, in the county of Armagh, was burnt in that year.

motives of human action, often intermingle themselves with the pursuits of every party, and how often is a debate brought forward, or a question opposed, for the sole purpose of gratifying the spleen or humour of the day? *Plus stomacho, quam consilio dedit*, may be regarded as the device of too many oppositions, and it is not less ungenerous than unwise, for it not only injures them in the eyes of the public, but eventually proves the source of embarrassing, and most awkward personal molestation, when they come into office, as it furnishes their adversaries with such copious and inconvenient recollections. In truth, to hear some leaders of opposition talk, one would imagine, that they never meant to come into power; and when they are in power, so dissimilar is their language, that they never were once out of it. To all such leaders, Lord Charlemont never belonged. Whatever his accidental, or necessary co-operation, his party was only that of his country, and if, in his Parliamentary conduct, there was any particular defect, it arose merely from that jealousy, which, certainly, not only the constitution abstractedly, but the situation of this country, too often demanded; a jealousy, however, which, in some few instances, might be said to have extended too far, and without that necessary allowance for human dealings, which our lamentable nature so frequently requires. Nothing could be more just or more worthy the attention of Ireland, than the observation of Mr. Fox, in his letter to Lord Charlemont.

"That country can never prosper, where what should be the ambition of men of honour, is considered as a disgrace."

It was sadly exemplified in Ireland. Had those who enjoyed, and deserved public confidence, taken office in defiance of popular prejudice, their disinterestedness might have gradually worn out that prejudice, and by adding public opinion to the weight of their own character, out-balanced mere ministerial authority on many an important topic. That he did not speak in Parliament, or in public, Lord Charlemont always lamented. It is surely not necessary, though some writers have thought it so, to make an apology for that which can require none, and introduce a crowd of splendid names, Addison, Prior, Soame Jenyns, and others, to keep, according to a trite phrase, any senator in countenance, who never delivered his sentiments in Parliament. The talent of public speaking is a peculiar gift, and whatever Lord Chesterfield may say on the subject, though practice will certainly improve such a faculty, nature

must bestow it, as much as any other endowment of the mind. In private conversation, Lord Charlemont was above most men. No one could speak with more ease, purity, and perspicuity. But they who imagine that those persons *who* so excel, would equally excel in public, adopt a very erroneous opinion. Colloquial powers are, in truth, so totally distinct, that he who is highly gifted with such, and has long exercised them apart from politics, will find it difficult, perhaps impossible, at a certain period of life, to catch the tone and style of public speaking. Even at the academy, where he might have been said to be at home, Lord Charlemont could not deliver anything that had the semblance of a speech, or an harangue, without being totally disconcerted. But he was then far from young. Had he, in earlier life, persevered in his efforts as a public speaker, I make no doubt that he would have been an excellent one. That he was alive to every nobler feeling in public life, has been amply shewn. His sensibility, and delicacy of taste, led him to the study of the fine arts, and polite literature in all its branches. Hence his communication with every erudite, or lettered man, at home or abroad. The Marquis Maffei, in Italy, Prince Czartoryski, in Poland, St. Palaye, Nivernois, Montesquieu, and the Comte de Caylus, in France. He had a great respect for some of the Scotch literati; but I am not enabled to particularize them. The men of science and genius, in England, to whom he was known, have been already mentioned. Of his countrymen who resided altogether in Ireland, Dr. Leland, that excellent scholar,* mentions his Lordship, as his first and early patron, and their intercourse was liberal and frequent; many others might be adduced, or have been so, in the course of this work. I believe that few instances occur, of any one so engaged in public life, as for more than forty years he was, who paid such unremitting attention to letters.

In painting, sculpture, and above all, in architecture, his taste and knowledge were discriminating and profound. Yet his modesty and uniform desire to assist ingenuous merit, were no ways inferior. The late

* He translated the orations of Demosthenes, and wrote the life of Philip of Macedon. At a subsequent period, he wrote the History of Ireland. Dr. Johnson had a great esteem for him. He was senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

Dr. Quin,* who was himself an excellent judge of the fine arts, used to say, that he had just reason to believe, that Lord Charlemont himself planned the temple at Marino, and resigned the credit of it to Sir William Chambers. There was scarcely a contemporary artist of any merit, whom he did not know; and many of them, in the earlier part of their lives, he patronized. Athenian Stuart, as he was called, he lived in entire intimacy with, as well as with Hogarth. Various are the letters from persons abroad, the Abbé Grant, so well known formerly to the English at Rome, and others, recommending young artists to his attention. He was, in truth, an unostentatious Macenas, and his fortune, it cannot be denied, was considerably impaired by his attachment to, and encouragement of, the fine arts. Men of scientific pursuits were also cherished by him; Sir Joseph Banks† particularly, who was highly valued by, and very dear to him.

A word or two, and no more, remain to be said relative to the history of Italian poetry.‡ Of a work so voluminous, and so interwoven with notes and erudite criticism, it would not be easy to give such extracts as could satisfy the reader, and certainly would swell this work beyond all just limits. Of some of the Italian poets Lord Charlemont has given an historical account as accurate as pleasing. But I must confine myself here to some few sonnets, stating, at the same time, that he chiefly regarded a translation as nearly literal as could be attempted. He seems to have been of opinion, that our blank verse was as well adapted to Lyric, as to Epic, or any other kind of poetry. In his translation of several of the odes of Horace, (accompanied indeed with some excellent notes,) the authority of Milton, and his own dislike of rhyme, induced him to attempt a species of measure, which, however faithful to the original, or harmonious some particular lines may be, is, in truth, neither prose nor poetry. In this respect, I think, the delicacy of his taste rather misled him. But I shall beg leave to present the reader with two or three Sonnets, of his translations, from some of the Italian poets. His accuracy and sensibility are, throughout, conspicuous. In these he has adopted rhyme.

* Dr. Henry Quin, a most eminent physician in Dublin.

† See the Appendix.

‡ See page 152.

## SONNET FROM TESTI.*

Al suon di miei sospiri, e di miei pianti
Tu pur, sonno gentil, desto a pietade.
Di quella, &c.

---

At sound of my complainings, of my sighs,
To pity roused, even thou, O gentle sleep,
The form of her, who knows not how to weep,
Pitying presentest to my mental eyes.
In dreams those matchless charms my sense enjoys,
That waking thought can never hope to reap;
Thus on my heart, thy flitting shadows heap,
Those joys which impious beauty still denies.
But whither fly'st thou? Ah! Thy flight restrain!
Alas! this cruel flutt'ring without cease,
From her was learn'd, whose image thou didst feign;
Yet not from thy deceit my woes increase;
Foolish, and mad am I, who thus sustain,
On images, and shadows all my peace.

## SONNET FROM LUDOVICO DOLCE.†

Mentre raccoglie hor' uno, hor' altro fiore,
Vicino à un rio di chiare, e lucid' onde,
Lidia, &c.

---

'Twas on a Streamlet's flow'r-enamell'd side
Whilst Lydia cull'd the fragrance of the field,
Lydia, to whom the prize our beauties yield,
Lydia, of every shepherd's heart the pride!
Nestling 'twixt flower and flower by chance she spied,
Like little snake, the God of love conceal'd;
In haste her braided treasure she reveal'd,
And with a tress the lurking mischief tied.
The little God, rous'd from his balmy rest,
With frequent flutterings struggled to get free,
And shook his pinions, fledg'd with downy gold,
Till, glancing on that face, by Venus blest,
"Tie me," he cry'd; "bind fast this urchin bold!
For ever here my chosen seat shall be."

* Testi was born at Ferrara, 1593.

† Dolce was born at Venice, 1508, and died there, 1568.

### SONNET FROM GUARINI.

Qual pellegrin, cui duro esilio affrena,

---

As the poor exile, whom the tyrant's ire
Has forced to quit his dear, his native nest,
By arms surrounded, and with fear oppress'd,
In pathless deserts shuns the danger dire.
His fear at length o'ercome by fond desire,
And hope, again he seeks the region blest
Which gave him birth; but here the fell arrest
O'ertakes him, doomed in tortures to expire.
Thus I, though fortune, and a tyrant maid
Have driven me far away from that dear face,
Whose beauty fed my heart, ambrosial fare!
Return to her, still fondly hoping grace,
To her, who mark'd me wretched! Well aware
My fond desire must be by death repaid.

### FROM PETRARCH,

SONNET 182.

This Sonnet was probably written during one of those maladies to which, as we may collect from the frequent complaints of her lover, the delicate constitution of Laura was but too liable.

Fra quantunque leggiadre donne, e belle,
Giunge costei, ch'al mondo non ha pare, &c. &c.

---

Whene'er amidst the damsels, blooming bright,
*She* shews herself, whose like was never made;
At her approach all other beauties fade,
As at morn's orient glow the gems of night.
Love seems to whisper: while to mortal sight,
Her graces shall on earth be yet display'd,
Life shall be blest; Till soon with her decay'd,
The virtues, and my reign shall sink outright.
Of moon, and sun, should nature rob the sky,
The air of winds, the earth of herbs and leaves,
Mankind of speech, and intellectu l eye,
The ocean's bed of fish, and dancing waves,
Ev'n so shall all things dark and lonely lye,
When of her beauty death the world bereaves.

It may be proper to mention, that Lord Charlemont speaks in the warmest terms of Mr. Boyd's translation of Dante, as "one of the best poetical translations in our language, and which is only prevented from being a *real* translation, by the constant uniformity of its merit." It first induced him to give a version of Dante, of which, as well as of all his translations, he speaks with the most engaging modesty and diffidence.---Of Mr. Roscoe, whom he highly recommends, he adds, "his translations make me blush for mine. Yet I must say, that, excellent as they are, they share in the glorious fault of being *too poetical*, and the latitude he has allowed himself, rendered this part of his labours, to me at least, not entirely satisfactory, by lessening that resemblance to his originals, which I must persevere in thinking the first object of translation."

As to his domestic character, without the predominating excellence of which, all the ornaments which literature, or manners can bestow, are of diminished lustre, he was an indulgent father, a tender husband, a generous and kind master, an ardent, sincere friend. To intrude on the private concerns of any family would be indelicate; but, were it so permitted, his disinterestedness, as a relation, might be shewn in the most favourable point of view. Sometimes, not frequently, he was irritable, but easily appeased. That irritability shewed itself more in the House of Commons, than any other place whatever. Among the country gentlemen he had numerous friends, and very general influence. To the freedom of public opinion, he had every respect, but, if some of those gentlemen, as was now and then the case, took a part in debate, or voted in a manner which he had reason to imagine was directed by oblique motives, they were certain, if they met him in the lobby, of encountering a tolerably sharp reprimand. The importance of the House of Commons was, he used to say, in a great measure, sustained by the county members, and when such men relinquished their independence, they relinquished every thing. But his anger was not often displayed; and so transient, that it could not be said to derogate from that suavity of manners which so eminently characterized him. From some prejudices, or dislikes, he was not free. Whence it arose, I know not, but he had, through life, almost a repugnance to the French. Of his friend, the Duc de Nivernois, he would, after speaking highly

of him, generally add, " But he is not a Frenchman, he is an Italian." This, however, was the overflowing of mere conversation, and far remote from any illiberality, which could warp his judgment in essential matters, either as to literature or morals. He highly esteemed several of the French nobility, and never mentioned the old, generous Maréchal de Biron,* without a degree of enthusiasm. In the lighter species of poetry, and memoir writing, he considered the French as excelling all others. But their graver poets were not equally the objects of his admiration. Altogether, their literary character, and the romantic courtesy, and high honour, which in the superior classes were so often blended with that character, peculiarly engaged, and even fascinated his attention. But the general mass of Frenchmen he was not attached to.—His life, when in Dublin, and not engaged by the Volunteers, was extremely uniform. He was on horseback every morning, and afterwards employed in various business till about one o'clock; at that time, or soon after, he went to his library, and remained there till almost dinner time. His friends had then constant access to him; and, considering the frequent interruption of visitors, it is a matter of some surprize, that he was enabled to write so much as he did. But it is a proof that not one moment of his time was unemployed. When Parliament was sitting, he regularly attended his duty there; and as the Lords, if not detained by particularly important business, rose rather early, he was to be met every day in the House of Commons, where, from long usage, he was almost regarded as a member. Those who have sat next to him, during a debate, cannot forget the vivacity and justness of his remarks, on the different speakers. As president of the academy, he equally attended their meetings, and when his health was interrupted, the academy, from their respect to

* Louis de Gontaut, Maréchal Duc de Biron, and for more than forty years Colonel of the French guards, to whom he was particularly dear, from the generosity and heroism of his manners. The memory of the Marshal should be ever respected by the English, for he always received such as were properly presented to him, with a courteous and magnificent hospitality. His kindness and munificence to Lord Rodney, must always be remembered. He and his contemporary, the Maréchal de Brissac, seemed, as military men, to be of the school of Francis the First. They would have gathered round him at the battle of Pavia, and never deserted him. The Marshal de Biron died at Paris, October, 1788, in the 89th year of his age.

him, adjourned their sittings to Charlemont House. At home, and in the bosom of his family, he enjoyed domestic society, with tranquil, unruffled satisfaction and pleasure. From continued study during part of his life, his eyes had suffered irreparable injury, and, on that account, some one of his family constantly read to him every evening which was not given to mixed company.

As to his person, Lord Charlemont was of the middle size, or rather above it; but he stooped considerably, especially towards the latter part of his life; the effect, I believe, of ill health. When he appeared with his blue ribband, and in full dress at the levee, his air and deportment were exactly those of a Foreign Ambassador of the highest rank. His eyebrows were large and black. His features, when a young man, to judge of him from one or two portraits, were of a softened and delicate cast; but pain and indisposition soon perform the work of age, and even before he reached middle life, had materially changed them. They became expanded, strong, and more expressive than handsome. When he spoke, or addressed any one, the amenity of his mind was diffused over his countenance, and rendered it peculiarly engaging.

The completion of the Union, Lord Charlemont did not live to see; and, had he lived, his sentiments, it is more than probable, would, on that head, have remained unchanged. A love of England, as well as his own country, influenced him in that respect, for few were more attached to our sister kingdom than he was. Whether, as to the Union, he was right or wrong, time alone, not the present hour, must determine. Many a novel scene, and many a change, must take place, before the durability of this new legislative fabric can be said to be fairly tried. Would that the mode, by which that fabric was raised, could be for ever effaced from the memory! but as that cannot be, let us endeavour to hope the best. Let us, in many instances, aspire to a higher policy than has hitherto fallen to the lot, or the wisdom of both countries to pursue; that policy which alone merits such an epithet, the melioration of the condition of our peasantry, the eternal exile of all proscribing systems from this country; the Union, not of legislatures merely, which would be found only in the statute book, but of hearts, of men, of Britons, of Irishmen, under whatever denomination, or civil, or

religious, they may be now distinguished. So acting, the spirit of that good man, whose memory I have endeavoured, though with no cunning hand, to embalm, may be said to walk abroad, and live among us still; so acting, we shall prosper; so shall "pale invasion come with half a heart," and the well-ordered motto of the knighthood of St. Patrick, extend beyond the shield of that chivalry, and for ever encircle both countries. *Quis separabit?*

# APPENDIX.

## No. 1,—p. 30.

The Titles of James, last Duke of Ormonde. He died, in exile, at Avignon, in France, 1745 : The most noble and illustrious Prince, James, Duke of Ormonde, Earl of Brecknock, and Baron of Lanthony, and Moore Park in England; Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Ormonde, Earl of Ossory, Viscount Thurles, Baron of Dingle, and Arklow, in Ireland; Lord of the regalities and liberties, and Governor of the county Palatine of Tipperary, and of the city, town, and county of Kilkenny; Honorary Chief Butler of Ireland, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle; Lord Lieutenant of the county of Somerset, Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Norfolk; High Steward of the Cities of Exeter, Bristol, and Westminster; Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and of Dublin; Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards; Captain General, and Commander in Chief of all her Majesty's forces by sea and land; one of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council in England, and in Ireland; Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of the kingdom of Ireland.

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## No. 2,—p. 84.

It may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to explain the origin of this, and similar titles still existing in Ireland. Maurice Fitzgerald was, in 1329, created Earl of Desmond, with a royal jurisdiction, or *Palatinate* in the same, by patent, dated at Gloucester, 27th August, 3d Edward III. Count Palatine were termed *Palatini*, sive comites *Palatii*, as being principal officers or counsellors in the emperor's *palace*. The title did not become common till about the time of Charlemagne. King Henry II. erected *three* Palatinates in Ireland. King Edward III. granted the Palatinate of *Ormonde* to the Earl of Ormonde, which continued in that family to the reign of George the 1st, when it was put down by act of Parliament, and was the last granted in Ireland. Every Count Palatine had a royal jurisdiction, and royal seignory. In right of the first, he had the same courts and officers as the King, who had no jurisdiction in his liberty, none of the King's writs being of force therein, except writs of error, or appeals, which were generally excepted in their charters. By his royal seignory, the Palatine had royal services, and royal escheats; by the first he could make tenures in *capite*, and *create barons*. Thus,

the Palatines of Chester created the Barons of Haulton, Malpas, &c. The Palatines of Meath, in Ireland, had their Barons of Navan and Galtrim. The Palatines of Kildare, those of Narrow and Rhebane. The Earls of Ormonde created the Barons of Loghmoe and Burnt Church. The Earls of Desmond had their Barons of Ballykealy, the Baron of the Island, and also, their *Knights of Kerry*, Knights of the Glen, of the Valley, &c.* No wonder if such enormous power was abused, and contributed so often to the ruin of those who possessed it. Dr. Sullivan justly remarks, that it was the cause, among other things, of the slowness of the settlement of Ireland.

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# No. 3,—p. 185.

What might have been the consequences at that time, of Ireland acting in the manner Mr. Burke suggests, or, in other words opposing the American war, (supposing such an opposition) it is not easy to say. Could such an interference have been effectual, it would have, perhaps, prevented a lamentable waste of blood and treasure, and, possibly, for some time longer, have kept together the mother country and her colonies. Such a connexion, however, would not have been permanent. The dread of such an interposition on the part of Ireland, or the possibility of our differing from England, at some period or other, was unquestionably one of the principal arguments made use of at the time of the Union. It may not be superfluous to state, what was partly said in the Irish House of Commons, on the subject of the proposition, that any person had an equal right with the Prince of Wales to the regency. It never became a matter of direct debate *there*, but was constantly alluded to, during the regency question. It was said that, considering the possible effects of such a resolution, it was well for both countries, that their Parliaments stood as they did; for their mutual independence might act as a mutual check on the possible intemperance of either; and had there been any protracted controul of the Prince of Wales, the independence of the Irish Parliament might shelter the people of England from the effects of party ambition, for no minister would continue to act upon that resolution, with the certainty of direct opposition to him on the part of the Parliament of Ireland. That, therefore, the independence of the two Parliaments constituted, if the phrase might be allowed, a sort of fourth estate, which would not suffer the possible occasional misconduct of either, and was, in fact, the best preservative of the connexion between the two countries. All this may, by those who are in the habit of disregarding Ireland, be considered as visionary, and the idea of any controul at any time, from the Parliament of this country, laughed at as extravagant. Certainly, their general proceedings encouraged no such speculations; but I can with truth assert, that this mode of reasoning was approved of by Mr. Burke, nay, assented to, in private, by Mr. Fitzgibbon; and to the acquiescence of those two eminent men, may be added the following historical document. It is now, I believe, very generally admitted, that the ministers, during the last four years of Queen Anne, were resolved, if possible, to bring back the son of James the Second, and place him on the throne of these kingdoms. From Ireland they expected

* See Smith's history of Kerry.

every thing, but the Parliament of Ireland opposed them. Lord Middleton, a party man certainly, but a most able and upright senator, and magistrate, (he was Chancellor) writes in this manner of the Parliamentary Proceedings in Dublin at that time: "What effect that Session of Parliament had on the English councils, was visible in the succeeding Session of the British Parliament; at which time, it was generally believed, the court intended to have brought in a bill to empower the queen to have appointed her successor, but the vigorous proceedings of the Irish Parliament, in favour of the Protestant succession, cast such a damp on their proceedings,"* &c. In short, they abandoned the scheme. Such was the opinion of Lord Middleton, with regard to the superior efficacy, which particular conjunctures might give to the Parliament of Ireland. Let it be remembered too, that this opinion was given, not in the heat of party, or debate, but in a private letter, long after the event, to a particular friend, and never, I presume, intended to meet the eye of the public. If such, therefore, was the power of the Irish Parliament, according to Lord Middleton, at the beginning of the last century, when it was as nothing, compared to the Parliament in 1789, it will not be said, that too fond an opinion of its powers was entertained by Lord Charlemont or his friends. Such questions are indeed now at rest, and, if statesmen act fairly, so much the better. But let not their obliquity be adroitly metamorphosed into turbulence, or disaffection, on the part of those who may oppose them.

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# No. 4,---p. 205.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS,
Regiæ Academiæ preses,
Pictorum sui sæculi
Facile princeps.
Suspendit picta vultum, mentemque tabella.

The head of the rising English school,
Who formed his pupils,
Not only by his example,
But by his precepts,
Nor yet content with excelling all men
In this his favourite science,
He surpassed in all the qualities
Which depend on the genius, or the heart,
And richly endowed with every accomplishment,

* See the Middleton Papers, in the Orford Memoirs.

With every grace,
And with every virtue,
In all his numerous, and various works,
He never pourtrayed a more amiable,
Nor a better man
Than himself.

" Would you not deem it breath'd, and that those veins
" Did verily bear blood ?"

—— Liquidis ille coloribus
Solers nunc hominem, ponere nunc deum.

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# No. 5,---p. 328.

nscription under the bust of the Marquis of Rockingham, by Lord Charlemont, and referred to in the letters of the Marchioness and Mr. Burke.

The most noble, Charles Watson Wentworth,
Marquis of Rockingham.
On whose Character,
A consciousness of partiality would prevent my expatiating,
If I were not confident
That the utmost ardor of friendship may be necessary
To give warmth to a delineation,
Which, even thus inspired, must fall far short of his merits.
Genuine patriotism, unshaken fortitude,
And immaculate honour,
Dignified his public conduct.
While his private life
Was marked, adorned, and sweetened
By every elegance of taste,
By all the tender endearments of friendship,
And by the constant practice of every social duty.
A Patron of all the Arts, useful and ornamental,
His Perspicuity discovered,
His Influence protected, his Liberality encouraged,
His Courtesy distinguished, and animated
Innumerable Votaries to true Genius,
Whose Modest Merit might otherwise have been concealed,

And lost to their Country.
As a Minister,
History will best speak his Praise.
He rescued the Dominions committed to his charge,
From the rage of Faction,
And the Destructive tendency of Unconstitutional Principles;
In his first Administration,
His Conciliatory Endeavours were effectual
To the Restoration of Harmony
Between Great Britain and her Colonies,
Which Blessing was, however, quickly forfeited
By a fatal change of men and measures.
Public Necessity,
And the Voice of the People,
Again called him to the helm of the sinking State,
Which, though now reduced to the last extremity,
By weak and evil governance,
Was saved from impending destruction,
By his persevering skill and courage.
The most jarring and discordant spirits
Were harmonized, and kept together,
By the love of his Person, the reverence for his Character,
And the universal confidence in his honesty.
Upon him, as the great centre of attraction,
The confidence, and consequent safety of the whole depended.
He found the Empire involved in the fatal consequences
Of short-sighted, arbitrary, and tyrannic Policy,
When, following the dictates of wisdom,
And of justice,
He gave Peace and Security to his Native Land,
Liberty to America,
And coinciding with the unparalleled efforts
Of her virtuous Sons,
Restored her rights to Ireland.
As his Life was the support,
His death had nearly been the ruin
Of the British Empire,
As if his lamenting Country
Had been loth to survive her darling Son,
Her friend, her benefactor, her preserver.
M. S. P.
CHARLEMONT.

There are many parts of the above Inscription, which are touched with equal truth, elegance, and delicacy. But I wish that Lord Charlemont, who so well understood, and relished some of the Greek Epigrams, or Inscriptions, had adopted their exquisite, chaste, and beautiful simplicity, and brevity, rather than the style which he has chosen; which, if more compressed, would, in my opinion, have been more impressive. It is, in some parts, too diffuse.

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*Directly under the bust.*

This striking resemblance of her departed Lord,
Perpetual source of her grief, and pride!
Was the precious gift
Of Mary, Marchioness of Rockingham,
Under whose painful inspection,
And pious care,
Exerted in behalf of his ever-lamenting friend,
And by the help of whose faithful memory,
The model was made.
1788.

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# No. 6,---p. 357.

*Extract from the Secretary of State (Mr. Hutchinson's) Speech, in 1793.*

" But what was the history of the representation in this country? He could inform gentlemen with some accuracy, having thought it his duty, when he took a more active part in public business, to extract from all the borough charters, at the Rolls Office, their material contents. The number of representatives in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. was one hundred; to this number Mary and Elizabeth added about forty-eight, but of these were nineteen counties, of which Elizabeth had established seventeen, a mode of representation worthy the character of that great princess. In the first Parliament of James I. held in 1613, the members of the House of Commons were 232; the last creation of a borough was by Queen Anne, who created one only. For the difference between the number of representatives at the accession of James, and the present number of 300, the House of Stuart is responsible. One half of the representatives were made by them, and made by the exertion of prerogative; of those James made 40 at one stroke; most of them at the eve of a Parliament, and some after the writs of summons had issued. The Commons in that parliament expressed their doubts whether those boroughs had the power of returning members to sit in Parliament, and

reserved that subject for future consideration. Complaints were made to James of those grants, but what was his answer? 'I have made 40 boroughs; suppose I had made 400—the more the merrier.' Charles I. followed the example of his father in exercising this prerogative, but not to so great an extent: Complaints were also made to him, and he gave assurances that the new corporations should be reviewed by Parliament. The grants made by these two monarchs appear, by the histories and correspondences of those times, to have been for the purpose of giving the Protestants a Majority over the Roman Catholics. The grants by Charles II James II. and Queen Anne, proceeded from motives of personal favour; thus it would appear, if the facts were investigated, that one half of the representation of Ireland had arisen from the exertions of prerogative, influenced by occasional motives, disputes among religionists, and inducements of personal favour, but had not been derived from any of those sources which had produced the English Constitution. Had he the honour of being a member of the British House of Commons, he would never touch the venerable fabric of their representation; but in this kingdom, the part of the representation universally complained of, had originated in party or private motives, and he did not believe there was one prescriptive borough in the whole kingdom. He believed some boroughs were called so, but he believed unjustly, eleven of the grants which had been mentioned, did not appear at the Rolls Office, but most of these were *modern* in the time of the *House of Stuart*."

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## No. 7,---p 379.

Lord Camden. Under a print of his Lordship is the following Inscription by Lord Charlemont.

Charles, Earl Camden;
Whose Character it is unnecessary to delineate,
His name alone being sufficient
To raise every sentiment of love, and veneration,
In the minds of all who know him;
And unfortunate are they
Who know him not.
Endowed with the most eminent abilities,
They have ever been employed in the cause of justice,
In the support of liberty,
And in the service of his Country.
And such are his virtues, public and private,
That he would have been conspicuous,
And illustrious,
Even in the most virtuous age.
What must he then be
In the present times?

# No. 8,---p. 422.

SIR JOSEPH BANKS,
President of the Royal Society,
By whom this Print,
A private one,
Unpublished,
Was kindly presented to me,
His old friend and acquaintance.
Eager in the search of knowledge,
Though blessed with all the gifts of fortune,
He left his native home;
And defying the dangers, and hardships of a voyage round the terraqueous globe,
He returned to enrich his country,
With the discovery of new regions, and new men;
And with an improvement to natural history,
His favourite study,
Which adds splendor to the present enlightened age.

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# ERRATA.

Page 72, line 8, suppress the word *commissioners*.
— 124, parent*a*m, parent*u*m ; *æ*vis, *a*vis ; d*æ*turos, d*a*turos,
— 325, line 20, after *artist*, *comma*, not full stop.
— 90, line 3, from the bottom, Apple-John, not Apple, John,
— 142, line 11, from the bottom, " sat *one* year," add, " not *more* than one year."
— 303, line 5, from the bottom, after the crowds," add, " the solitude"
There are duplicate folios from 319 to 328, inclusive.